

## Allan Octavian Hume

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When we look back upon Mr. Hume's career, and his noble scheme for the harmonious evolution of East and West, we are reminded of the culture hero of Greece—Prometheus, the spirit of progress, "he who thinks forwards" ; withstood in all ages, and among all races, by Epimetheus, "he who thinks backwards," the prototype of blind authority, which learns nothing, and forgets nothing. Prometheus brought the sacred fire from heaven, to endow men of clay with spiritual life ; and taught them the arts and sciences, bringing upon himself the vengeance of the ruling powers : he suffered for the people, but triumphed in the end, when Hercules slew the vultures that preyed upon his vitals, and unloosed his bonds. In every nation the same struggle goes on between progress and autocracy, between enlightenment and obscurantism ; and it is well for India that her destiny is linked with England ; and not with Russia, where the spirit of the people is crushed by a dull and deadly bureaucratic despotism. In England, the ancient home

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at the disposal of Mr. Hume as a District Officer, the lot of Etawah under his administration would have been indeed a happy one.

These are the lines upon which reform should proceed with regard to local self-government. But while dealing with specific grievances, regard must be had to the larger responsibilities belonging to the new era which has been opened out for the Indian people by Lord Morley's reforms, and by the Delhi declarations of King George. The existing system, under which a few hundred foreign officials govern autocratically a population of 250 millions, is obsolete. A very material change must be made in the official fabric ; the edifice requires to be remodelled from the foundations to the roof, from the village organization to the ultimate control by the House of Commons. And a change is also needed in the spirit of the administration : Trust in the people must be substituted for trust in bureaucracy. Public servants must be the servants of the public ; not its masters.

### *Control in England.*

But there will be no security for popular rights unless provision is made for an impartial and effective control in England over the Indian Executive. Mr. Fox's Bill, a hundred and thirty years ago, proposed to effect this by placing the control in the hands of a strong and independent commission appointed by Parliament from among the most trusted public men in England, men unconnected with the Indian administration, and prepared to enforce publicly and with judicial impartiality the broad principles of justice and good government. This was the scheme so eloquently supported by Edmund Burke, who "desired to regulate the administration of India upon the principles of a Court of Judicature, and to exclude, as far as human prudence

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can exclude, all possibility of a corrupt partiality, in appointing to office, or covering from enquiry and punishment, any person who has abused, or shall abuse his authority." As a move in this direction some practical reforms might now be adopted, as recommended in the Minority Report of Lord Welby's Commission. As regards the responsible advisers of the Secretary of State, it was proposed (para. 34) that "a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience should be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils." Perhaps, as a beginning, representative Indians, selected in this way, might constitute not less than one-third of the Council; another third being officials; and the remaining third being selected from "the most trusted public men in England," unconnected with the Indian administration.

As regards control by Parliament, the recommendation of the Minority Report ran as follows: "In the time of the East India Company a Parliamentary enquiry was held every twenty years, before the renewal of the Charter. From these enquiries date the most important reforms for the benefit of India. Also the prospect of such an enquiry tended to check abuses. This old practice should be revived by statute." Further, "in order to maintain the controlling authority over Indian expenditure, the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed upon the British estimates." And in order to give reality to the "Indian Budget debate," the House of Commons should each year appoint a Select Committee to enquire into and report upon the financial conditions of India, as shown in the Budget, and in the discussions thereon in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. Lord Morley has told us that we should realize "the enormous weight, com-

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present, heavy, and hazards" of our obligations towards India. The measures above suggested would do something towards giving Parliament the knowledge and assistance needed to fulfil its duties as trustee for the Indian people.

## CONCLUSION

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He died on the 21st, in his eighty-fourth year, having been ill for a few days only. His funeral took place on the 23rd, at a simple and the words of the hymn, "He is not dead," were sung. But far away, among the people of India, there was deep sorrow. In telegrams, in the *Times*, in the *Review*, and at public meetings, the feelings of the people of England and the land were expressed. The *Times* said: "A great loss to these are given in America." We could have had mourners more infinitely numerous and sincere. For his name and his good deeds were known in the remotest villages of

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When we look back upon Mr. Hume's career, and his noble scheme for the harmonious evolution of East and West, we are reminded of the culture hero of Greece—Prometheus, the spirit of progress, "he who thinks forwards" ; withstood in all ages, and among all races, by Epimetheus, "he who thinks backwards," the prototype of blind authority, which learns nothing, and forgets nothing. Prometheus brought the sacred fire from heaven, to endow men of clay with spiritual life ; and taught them the arts and sciences, bringing upon himself the vengeance of the ruling powers : he suffered for the people, but triumphed in the end, when Hercules slew the vultures that preyed upon his vitals, and unloosed his bonds. In every nation the same struggle goes on between progress and autocracy, between enlightenment and obscurantism ; and it is well for India that her destiny is linked with England ; and not with Russia, where the spirit of the people is crushed by a dull and deadly bureaucratic despotism. In England, the ancient home

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### CONCLUSION.

It was, I think, Thomas Carlyle who said that old age was "dark and unlovely." But this was not so with Mr. Hume. Even under physical suffering, there were for him elements of brightness and beauty. For his mind to him a kingdom was: up to the last he was actively engaged in the scientific pursuits which were always his special joy; and his eyes were privileged to see, though in the dim distance, the salvation of India. To use his own expression, he had a "great and enduring Hope" for the future of India; and he said that if he could only live to see that Hope realized, he would "die content and happy." His labours are now bearing rich fruit, and it has been a consolation to his sorrowing friends that, before he passed away, he had the assurance that a happier day was dawning for the people that he loved so well.

On the 31st of July 1912, in his eighty-fourth year, Allan Octavian Hume passed peacefully away. His funeral at Brookwood Cemetery was simple; and the words on his monument were few. But far away, among the millions of India, there was deep sorrow. In telegrams, in letters, and in Resolutions at public meetings, the feelings of the people throughout the land were expressed in touching language. Some of these are given in Appendix IV. No one could have had mourners more multitudinous, or more sincere. For his name and his good deeds were known in the remotest villages of

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of freedom, those who trust in Russian methods can only prevail for a season ; and for India's future we may well share in Allan Hume's assured Hope that though sorrow may endure for a night, joy will come in the morning.

## APPENDIXES

### APPENDIX I

ETAWAH, 24th July, 1860.

To G. R. HAYWOOD Esq.

*Secretary to the Cotton Supply Association,  
Manchester.*

DEAR SIR,—

Your letter and circular, dated December 1859 only reached me on the 17th of the current month—with whom the delay rests I cannot say—I at least am not in fault.

Fully concurring with you in the importance of increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the cotton grown in these provinces, I have for years given the subject as much attention as I could spare from my other multifarious duties, and am therefore in a position to answer most of the Queries put by you.

At the same time, lest, seeing how unsatisfactory many of my replies necessarily are, you should be disposed to wonder or cavil at my not having taken more energetic measures, to further the objects that I with you admit to be most desirable, allow me to remind you, that to an officer, to whom the entire government of six or seven hundred thousand people is confided, an improved or enhanced growth of cotton, can at most be but a very secondary object, to which time and attention can only be devoted, after weightier matters, such as the securing protection to life and property, the establishment and maintenance of schools, hospitals, and public libraries, the realization of Revenue, the construction of Public Works, etc., etc., have been duly provided for.

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## Appendixes

And now to reply to your queries seriatim—

1. The cotton plant *is* grown in this, the Etawah District.
2. There is only one kind of cotton now grown in this district, I enclose samples, in the boll and cleaned. The former may be taken as a fair specimen of the best average cotton here grown—the latter will enable you to judge how far the Churkha here in use injures the fibre. The quality of the produce depends very much on the soil and season and fully half of the Etawah cotton is (taking the average of several years) inferior to the enclosed sample—on the other hand about 10 per cent. is superior.

3. No cotton of the American variety is grown here, nor would there appear to have ever been any vigorous efforts on a large scale to introduce its cultivation. Some few of the Zemindars seem to have tried a few acres of it some twenty-five years ago, but it took they allege so long to flower that the bolls never rightly came to maturity. I myself have sown it for three successive years without any success. I have so little time for gardening that I fear the cotton (though I saw it planted myself on the most approved form of ridge, and subsequently moulded and hilled) did not get properly looked after. Perhaps however the seed was in fault—the people here usually call the American variety “Nurma Kupas” or soft cotton.

4. Last year we had 57,675 acres of land under (cotton) cultivation and the produce amounted to 107,929 maunds or 8,634,320 lb., showing an average yield of only 150 lb. per acre; but the rains were very defective, and I think I shall not be wrong in assuming 250 lb. as the average yield per acre, in a fair season, of our average good land when reasonably carefully cultivated.

5. See No. 3.

6. Our soil varies in different parts of the district from very light sandy earth (“Bhoor” as it is here called) to a rich but still not clayey loam (known as “Do mut”). The climate is that of the rest of the districts of the central Duab—but perhaps a little warmer than some of its neighbours in January and February, cold at night and in mornings

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and evenings the temperature is often below freezing-point—in the middle of the day it ranges from  $80^{\circ}$  to  $94^{\circ}$  in the sun ; towards the end of February the heat increases and in March and the first fifteen days of April the temperature gradually rises, so that by the end of March the thermometer may be said never to fall below  $65^{\circ}$  and to rise to  $110^{\circ}$  at midday. During the latter part of April, May, and June till the first showers of the rain fall the heat is very great and the hot winds blow more or less continually. The thermometer very rarely, even just before sunrise falling below  $80^{\circ}$  and at 2 p.m. rising to  $120^{\circ}$  *in the shade* (we had it above that in our tents in 1858) and to  $140^{\circ}$  and even more incredible heights if exposed to the sun—however, towards the middle or end of May we sometimes have a little heavy rain which for a time cools the air. During June or early in July the periodical rains commence and continue with more or less violence till the end of August or the middle of September. The temperature during these months (dependent chiefly on the amount of rain that falls and the manner in which the falls are distributed) varies so much in different years and at different parts of the same season that it is difficult to give it any numerical representative, but perhaps if I assume  $86^{\circ}$  as the lowest and  $112^{\circ}$  as the highest average temperature in the shade during the rains, I shall not be far wrong. After the rain ceases there is usually a month of very hot and steamy weather, but during the course of October, the nights begin to grow cool, and the latter half of November and December are almost as cool as January. There is usually a fall of rain about the end of December which lasts a few days. The total fall of rain during the whole year is I estimate on the average 28 inches, of which 22 fall during the Rainy Season.

7. The cotton seed is usually sown during June after the first or second good fall of rain, but it is also at times (especially if the rains are late) sown in dry ground and there left to await the expected showers.

In years in which the rains are favourable, viz., in which the total fall is pretty equably distributed throughout the

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this part of the country, and which is the most advantageous mode of growing them, and also for the purpose of keeping up a supply of acclimatized seed for distribution and giving the growers practical lessons of how to improve their husbandry. Moreover as the produce increased the agent could gradually introduce good hand gins, and get a great deal of the cotton well cleaned by the people themselves. Besides the produce of Etawah itself, a factory at Etawah would command the whole produce of the very extensive cotton field of which it is the centre and which includes a great portion of Dholpoor, Agra, Muttra, Mynpooree, Farruckabad, Cawnpoor, Jalown, and the North of Oudion. I don't hesitate to say that with two or three years of liberal, just, and ready-money transactions 25,000,000 lbs. of *lawn* cotton could be easily sent home annually from here, and if a system of advances to intending cultivators was adopted, I should not despair of multiplying the amount many times. The business would require capital, temper, time, intelligence, and liberality, and what is not common in India, regular *business* habits—but it would, I believe, be very profitable, and a few such agencies in India judiciously located would I believe enable our merchants in Manchester to command an almost indefinite supply of cotton of *any* quality that the physical conditions of soil and climate permit the growth of. What the highest quality here obtainable really is time and repeated experiments on a considerable scale, by men who know exactly what to try and how to try it, alone can show, but that the present standard can be very considerably raised even without the introduction of new varieties, I have myself twice practically proved. Even supposing that no cotton better than the sample sent were to be usually grown here, the scheme I propose would I conclude be remunerative. At present, the *grower* sells it to a petty dealer, after having "mangled" it with an infamous "churkha" that very seriously injures the fibre, the petty dealer sells it to a native merchant, who packs it (without any press, and so badly that it has to be repacked down country), and exports it sometimes direct

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to Calcutta, but more often only Mirzapoor; and then it passes through one or two more hands before it is finally shipped for England. Surely the direct agency properly managed, by which the cotton is cleaned without injury to the fibre, packed at once and exported without there being any middleman to absorb the profits, would be amply remunerative when the present ill-managed system affords profits sufficient to support five or six different parties.

Cotton of the quality of the raw sample herewith sent might I calculate on the average, if bought in large quantities, cleaned by good gins, properly packed and sent down the Jumna in boats, be put on board ship at Calcutta at Rs. 10 8 ans. per maund, or at £1 1s. per 80 lb. avoirdupois, or 3·15 per lb. (exclusive of cost of agency and risk of insurance). The question is what will the freight home cost, and what would the average value of cotton of the quality of the raw sample herewith sent be in Manchester if it had been properly cleaned by a good gin?

I must however note that the price of cotton here is liable to most extraordinary fluctuations; at the present moment if I had to buy cotton, clean it, etc., it would cost (even supposing I had all the means and appliances above suggested) at least 4½ per lb. before it got on ship board at Calcutta. This I take to be owing in great measure to the extreme uncertainty of the demand. Were there a regular agency for its purchase here, I do not think the price would vary as much as it now does or average higher than that above quoted.

13. The actual price of the cotton cleaned at Etawah is usually under the present retail system about Rs. 7 12 ans., or 15s. 6d. (it is much more at the present moment) per maund of 80 lb., but if bought and cleaned by horse or steam gins, on a *large scale*, would, besides being much better, stand in some 8 ans. or 1s. less. It costs now 8 ans. or 1s. to pack one maund of it very badly—with a good screw press it could be packed so as not to require reopening till it reached England for 4 ans. or 6d., and it is carried from here to Calcutta in boats via the

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Jumna to Allahabad, and thence by the Ganges and Hooglee for Rs. 3 or 6s. per maund, whereas, if properly packed, it would certainly cost 8 ans. per maund less in transit. We have therefore—

	At present.			As suggested.		
	Indian.		English.	Indian.		English.
	Rs. as.	£	s. d.	Rs. as.	£	s. d.
Cost of cotton of quality of sample cleaned at Etawah, per maund of 80 lb....	7 14	0	15 9	7 6	0	14 9
Packing ditto ...	0 8	0	1 0	0 4	0	0 6
Carriage to Calcutta ...	3 0	0	6 0	2 8	0	5 0
Cost at Calcutta of maund or 80 lb.	11 0	1	2 9	10 2	1	0 3

I would add that though, allowing for contingencies, I have in answer No. 12 stated the price per maund of 80 lb. at Rs. 10 8 ans. or £1 1s., I should myself be sanguine of reducing this average if the business were conducted on a sufficiently large and liberal scale.

14. Etawah is admirably situated as a locality for a cotton agency—it is built, as the map will show you, on the banks of the Jumna, thus ensuring cheap and uninterrupted water carriage to Calcutta. It has moreover a good road from Gwalior on the one hand (crossing the Jumna and Chambal, over both of which I have established bridges of boats) and to Furrickabad on the Ganges on the other; the main rail-road from Allahabad and Calcutta to Agra, Delhi and the Punjaub passes through it, and though two years will probably elapse before that portion of the line lying between Raj Mehal and Allahabad is entirely complete the section from Allahabad to Agra will it is believed be open to the public in less than a twelvemonth. Besides this I have during the last three years constructed some 400 miles of good cart roads leading from all parts of the district to the town of Etawah itself, so that really the only way in which



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## Appendix I

the means of conveyance could, as far as I can see, be improved would be by the construction of a better class of barges for the transport of the cotton by river. These should I think be iron, and built in compartments. The sinking and burning of the boats now in use are a source of great loss.

15. The growers have only the common seed. If really good seed were furnished them numbers would be *glad* to buy it on a small scale at first and if it succeeded on a large scale afterwards. The fact is that as far as my experience goes, Hindoos like Englishmen, are perfectly ready to take any good advice or adopt any good plan, if you can only demonstrate to them practically that *it pays*. That is the touchstone. If the higher quality for any reason does not *pay* them so well as that they now grow, they will after a few trials abandon it—if it *pays better* you may depend on their sticking to it. One thing that is necessary for the successful growing of the foreign varieties is a short practical manual, *drawn up with reference to the requirements of this country and these provinces*. Louisiana and Alabama are *not at all* like the North-West provinces of India and prize essays on the cultivation of Orleans staple cotton in the Valley of the Mississippi, are believe me but of little value in Etawah no matter how “experienced” the “planters” from whom they emanate. A good practical manual such as we require could be best compiled after a few years of experience at an Experimental Farm of the kind alluded to in my twelfth answer.

16. The native “Churkha” is the only instrument here used at present and they ~~have~~ no press for baling it. The cotton is packed for the market in the most primitive fashion imaginable. Bags of a cylindrical form, about 4 feet long by 3 feet in diameter, open at one end, are suspended (so that the bottom is about a foot off the ground) by four or more ropes run through the edges of the mouth or open end to a like number of poles firmly planted in the ground round about the bags. The cotton is then thrown in little by little, and a man standing inside the bag keeps steadily treading it



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vated according to American or Indian practice has hitherto succeeded but indifferently in these provinces, but who knows what success some combination of the two or some entirely new system of culture might lead to? On the other hand supposing it to be proved impossible to bring the American variety to perfection here, it is by no means improbable that the African or still better the Egyptian might succeed. What is required is experience—an experimental farm carried on on a liberal scale under a really able and educated man for half a dozen years, would probably settle the matter as regards the cotton field of which Etawah is the natural centre. If the Association really wish for this experience, really desire to improve the quality and increase the quantity of cotton grown here and elsewhere—they must put their own shoulders to the wheel—give up memorializing Government, and do what they want done themselves—at their own expense. In the long run they will find it the cheapest and best plan.

I need hardly say that any agency of the nature suggested by me in my twelfth answer, would meet with my most willing support, and that I should be at all times ready to afford any advice or assistance that my long residence in this district and intimate acquaintance with its people rendered me qualified to give.

I am, dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

A. O. HUME.

PS.—The Macarthy gins would be readily purchased here, if the people could be convinced that they answer. If one as a specimen were sent with full instructions as to use, and I could show them practically that it was a *paying* investment, there would be no difficulty I fancy in disposing of five hundred like it in a single year.

*Note.*—As ill-health compels me to go on leave for a few months any reply you may wish to send should be addressed to me *by name to the care of* the Magistrate and Collector, Etawah.

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## APPENDIX II

### A LETTER TO MR. BEHRAMJI M. MALABARI,

ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS NOTES UPON INFANT MARRIAGES  
AND ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD AND GENERALLY ON THE  
PRESENT PROSPECTS AND METHODS OF NATIONAL PROGRESS.

*(Reprinted from the "Indian Spectator" of February 1, 1885)*

MY DEAR MALABARI—

I have read with the most entire sympathy your cogent and eloquent Notes on the evils attendant on infant marriages and enforced widowhood. Privately, for years past, I have strenuously urged on Native friends the necessity of reform in these and other kindred social matters; so that you must not attribute my long delay in answering your letter, enclosing these papers, to any want of interest in the painful subjects to which they relate. Most entirely do I agree with you, that much misery results from these customs; that in the present day (whatever may have been the case in times long past), the evil generated by them far outweighs any good with which they can justly be credited—that yearly this disproportion will increase, and that their abolition is even now an object in every way worthy to be aimed at.

There is so little genuine unselfish enthusiasm in the world nowadays, that agreeing thus far with you, I have been unwilling to appear in any way to throw cold water on your zeal, by tendering only a qualified concurrence in your views. But since you continue to insist on a public con-

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fession of the faith that is in me, I must in justice to the great national cause, which we both alike have at heart, say distinctly, what—rightly or wrongly—I really think about the matter.

In the first place I must say I think you *somewhat* exaggerate the evil results of these traditional institutions. I quite admit that there is full warrant for everything you advance—the terrible evils you refer to are real; but they are not, to my idea, by any means so universal as the ordinary reader of your Notes would, I think, be led to infer. Moreover, though I admit that the evil does, on the whole, outweigh the good, it is not fair to our people to allow it to be supposed, that they are so hopelessly blind as to cling to institutions which are utterly and unmitigatedly bad. In the existing state of the Native social problem, no really impartial competent judge will, I believe, deny that in many cases these institutions even yet work fairly well. There are millions of cases in which early marriages are believed to be daily proving happy ones, and in which consummation having been deferred by the parents (and this, my friends say, is the usual case) till a reasonable age (I mean for Asiatic girls) the progeny are, so far as we can judge, perfectly healthy, physically and mentally.

A Native friend writes to me, "The wife, transplanted to her husband's home at a tender age, forgets the ties that bound her to the parental hearth, and by the time she comes of age is perfectly naturalized in her adopted family; and though she is allowed no wifely intercourse with her husband until she attains a fitting age, still the husband and wife have constant opportunities of assimilating each other's natures and growing, as it were, into one, so that when the real marriage takes place the love they feel for each other is not merely passion, but is mingled with far higher and purer feelings. Misfortunes cannot alienate our wives, they have no frowns for us, even though we commit the most heinous crimes or ill-treat or sin against themselves. Those ignorant of our inner life call this a vile subjugation and say that we have made our wives our slaves, but those who live

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amongst us know that it is the result of that deep-seated affection that springs from early association and religious (if you will, superstitious) teachings.

"Where will you find a wife so true and contented as a Hindu's? Where more purity of thought or more religious fervour than in the Hindu women of respectable families? Our men, alas! may be materialists, atheists, immoral, base, but our women are goodness in human shape—and why? because they have been shown an object on which to concentrate the entire love and veneration of their natures at a time when their pure hearts were unsullied by any other impressions or ideas, and taught to look up to their husbands, whose faces they could only look on after many solemn ceremonies, as their guardians, protectors, and gods."

Everything in this world has its darker and brighter sides and the blackest cloud has some silver lining; and though my friend in his happy husbandhood (for his has been, I know, a happy infant marriage) generalizes too enthusiastically from his own experience, still he has some foundation for his contention; and infant marriage (though fraught with grievous misery in too many cases, though a custom marked for extinction and daily becoming more and more of an anachronism and more and more of an evil, taking its results as a whole), has not yet become that unmitigated curse, unrelieved by redeeming features, which, forgive me if I say so, your vigorous onslaught would, it seems to me, lead the European reader to believe.

Do you remember "Uncle Tom's Cabin"? There was not one incident recorded in that novel, in connection with the grievous iniquities of slavery, for which actual warrant did not exist, and yet the general result was to produce a grossly exaggerated picture of the working of the system. Many look upon that highly coloured narrative as the first seed of the subsequent emancipation of the slaves; personally, I credit it mainly with the perfectly needless slaughter of about half a million of persons. It took hold on the mind of the nation. It grievously angered the Southerners, many

## Appendix II

m the kindest and best of masters, beloved beyond  
re by their so-called slaves, who, seeing themselves  
their institutions wantonly maligned, became all the  
resolutely determined to oppose any reform (prior  
numbers of the Southerners were themselves con-  
g how emancipation could be gradually brought

It grievously inflamed the righteous indignation  
New Englanders, and a certain better-minded section  
other northern States—and it led to John Brown and  
urching soul and all the “battle, murder, and sudden  
' that followed. You will be told that the North and  
fought over the tariff, and so a large section of the  
rn States unquestionably did, but these would never  
entured to provoke or accept (for this is a moot point)

war, but for the enthusiasm of the honest anti-  
party. But for “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” I fully believe  
avery would have been abolished before now, and  
t any civil war.

works of fiction attacking social evils always, it may  
l, exaggerate the case, and Charles Reade and Charles  
is will be pointed to as having equally picked out  
ual instances of wrong and so presented them as  
re them appear the necessary and inevitable results  
ems which, as a matter of fact, by no means invariably  
such serious consequences.

even if such exaggeration be permissible in works of  
and if this high colouring does really do good *in the*  
“ (which is at least an arguable point) by attracting  
ncentrating attention, it certainly does not do this, in  
inion, in the case of grave prosaic State papers, like  
and rightly or wrongly, my experience and inquiries  
e to believe that in your righteous indignation against  
and desire to get rid of what is evil, you have depicted  
il in blacker colours than the facts of the case, *taken as*  
e, really warrant.

egards the question of enforced widowhood I have *in*  
a somewhat similar objection to take. It is productive  
at evils, much unhappiness, much demoralization. It

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is a custom against which common-sense, and all the best instincts of our nature write, as in the case of slavery, the verdict "*delenda est.*" But with all that, it does not, taking the country as a whole, produce so much evil as might be theoretically inferred. It is bad enough doubtless, but it is not that gigantic cancer at the heart's core of society, that tremendous and cruel evil, the eradication of which is essential as the first step to national regeneration, that the casual reader unacquainted with the intricacies of social life in the East, might well conceive it to be from your eloquent and earnest denunciations.

But besides this I have another difficulty. I must divide widows into titular or virgin widows, and real widows. As to the former I have satisfied myself by a careful study of all the authentic and authoritative texts produced on both sides; that there is nothing in the Shastras to prevent *their* re-marriage; and there being positively no good that can be even alleged as resulting from enforcing their continued widowhood, while very grave evils unquestionably flow therefrom, I have no hesitation in earnestly pressing and entreating every good Hindu, who loves his family, his fellows or his country, to combine to make re-marriages in such cases *customary* and thus, as it were, *legislate for themselves* on this matter.

For the re-marriage of fully married or real widows, I cannot say as much. I entertain no doubt that according to the Shastras, the re-marriage of such involved a loss of caste. I regret that this should be so, but I believe it to be the case, and being so, I could press no Hindu brother, who conscientiously accepts these ancient writings, not merely as the teachings of eminently pious *men* (and therefore necessarily imperfect, suited only to the time in which they were written and open to correction in the light of a more advanced civilization), but as the immutable commands of the Almighty—I could, I say, ask no such Hindu to do violence to his conscience by transgressing what he believes to be the laws of God, even were the evils resulting from this enforced widowhood tenfold what *they* are.

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Such I would only pray by sympathy and watchful care, by tenderness and love, to mitigate so far as may be the lonely lot of the poor women that they are compelled by religious convictions thus to isolate, and by educating *all* their women, and elevating their mental and moral status, to minimize the inevitable evils, resulting from this enforced, and in the cases of young women, unnatural widowhood. As for those fellows, whose whole lives, redolent of fraud, falsehood, greed or gluttony, show plainly how little *they* regard the Shastras, and who yet seize upon texts, out of sacred writings (every other command of which they disregard when it suits their own purposes) to justify the retention, as ill-used household drudges or unacknowledged concubines, of the poor women entrusted to their care, they are hypocrites whom I hope all brother Hindus, orthodox and unorthodox, will combine to reward as they merit.

No ! let the real believer, who lives honestly and truly by his Shastras, still keep his widowed daughter or daughter-in-law, unmarried according to his creed—in such a house, no harm will come to her. It may seem hard upon the poor girl—but in a truly pious household trials are but the seeds of future glories. But let the hypocrite who, whenever he seeks the gratification of his own vices or passions, disregards the sacred commands he pretends to accept, though making a great show of reverencing them *when it suits his purpose*, remember, that call it by what name men will, there is a retribution for all wrong and that he shall surely himself suffer for all the suffering he causes, and for all the sin and sorrow this may evolve.

In the second place, besides holding that obnoxious as are the customs against which you take arms, you have somewhat exaggerated the magnitude and universality of the evils to which they give rise, I cannot but fear that your method of thus attacking particular branches of a larger question, as if they could be successfully isolated and dealt with as distinct entities, is calculated to mislead the public, to confuse their conceptions of proportion, to entail loss of power and intensify, what seems to me at this present

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men whose eyes appear to be closed to everything but the material wants of the people, and to whom the poverty of our population appears to be the one sole evil against which it is necessary to concentrate all efforts. You find equally devoted enthusiasts who see in the ignorance of the masses the source of all their sufferings and in their intellectual elevation a panacea for all woes. You find men of the purest and highest aspirations, careless to a great extent of both the material and mental wants of the nation, making their sole aim either its moral development or religious culture. There are some of your social reformers who hold that India is to be saved by the abolition or modification of some evil or obsolete custom or habit, and nailing this flag to their own masts are willing to see the rest of the fleet sink if only their ships forge somewhat ahead. And last but not least, you have the strong practical men, who Gallio-like care for none of these things but place all their hopes on the realization of their aspirations for the political enfranchisement of their countrymen.

What we want, it seems to me, at the present time most of all, is that all these good labourers should understand that they are comrades in one cause, that their aims, though diverse, are not only not antagonistic, but are inextricably interlinked parts of one whole—that if you could multiply tenfold every peasant's means you would serve the country's interests but little did you not simultaneously elevate the mental and moral faculties, so as to secure a wise, prudent, and good use of the money, root out old customs involving its rapid dissipation, and confer such a political status as would enable the owners to preserve and protect their newly found wealth—that no great development of brain power is possible on empty stomachs and where men's whole energies have to be devoted to simply satisfying the cravings of these, and that even if possible it would become a positive evil if unaccompanied by moral or spiritual evolution, and by means for gratifying the necessarily resulting political aspirations—that moral culture is best fostered, mankind being what it is, by removing from men's paths those terrible temptations to

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evil engendered by poverty, hunger, and natural envy of those more fortunate, and that the hope of attaining to the exercise of political functions is often one of the strongest incitements to a higher morality—that the extinction of a few evil customs will avail little without a thorough recast of the social framework, a thing only possible as the result of a general advance along all the other lines, physical, intellectual, psychical and political—and that lastly, nations in the long run always get precisely as good a Government as they deserve, and that no nominal political enfranchisement will in practice prove more than a change of evils unless such an advance has simultaneously or antecedently been made along all these other lines as shall render the country qualified to assimilate its improved political status.

Now, whether rightly or wrongly, it seems to me that a sporadic crusade such as the one you have now undertaken—not to capture the Holy Land, but merely to destroy one little stronghold of the infidels therein—is an utter waste of power, in so much that even if crowned with momentary success, it could have no permanent result while the hills that command it and its water-supply are still in the hands of the enemy. It would be like our capture of the Redan before the Mamelon was in our allies' hands.

And I think further that such isolated crusades have a distinct tendency to intensify that sectarianism in Reform which, as I have already said, seems to me the chief obstacle to progress. And when you threaten, as you often do, to abandon all other work and devote for the rest of your life your great abilities and energies, your fearless honesty and fiery enthusiasm, to these two comparatively minor matters, you seem to me, I confess, like a man who should concentrate all his attention and efforts upon a single plank in the bottom of his ship, leaving all the rest to wind and wave, to rock and rot, as Chance may will it.

No doubt specialization goes hand in hand with development; but national reform here is still in the amoebic stage, and no such specialization as this would imply is as yet practicable. We all remember the statesman who was said



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to have given to a Party the talents designed to serve mankind. Would you, following this erring example, give to two minor questions those powers designed to serve the national cause as a whole? Believe me, it would be not only to inflict on your country an irreparable loss—for there is no other single man whose services she could less easily spare—but it would be a sin against your own soul, like his who hid his talent in the napkin.

One single example will bring home to any thinking mind the extent to which the country suffers, by this premature specialization, and by the absence of co-operation and sympathy, and the lack of unity of purpose, amongst even true would-be reformers, working in different, and even in the same directions. In this age of materialism, when existing faiths, Eastern and Western, seem alike losing all vital hold upon the hearts of their votaries, when the glamour of this material world seems to blind mankind to the existence of other states, of which this present life is but an infinitesimal fragment—when “eat and drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die,” seems almost the only *living* creed—there is no one more important question than that of the moral and spiritual culture of the nation. Morality is the sole rock upon which national prosperity can be securely based—all other foundations are but as shifting sands. The old safeguards of national morality here are crumbling into ruin. To teach men once more the beauty and happiness of pure lives and pure thoughts is perhaps the greatest requisite of all if that national regeneration, for which we all sigh, is ever to be more than a dream. Throughout the length and breadth of the land are scattered, thinly it is true, men, the salt of the earth, Hindus, Christians, Mohammedans and votaries of other innumerable sects—men to whom pure lives and lofty aspirations are as the air to us grosser mortals; who give their time and hearts, and would gladly give their *lives*, to leading other souls along the holy paths that they have trodden to find peace—men who have really one common object, the moral exaltation of their fellows—men who if they could only

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widen their sympathies and lovingly band themselves in united action with all those fellow-labourers whose real aim, like their own, is the purification of mankind, would in twenty years raise the whole tone of national thought—but who working on, each in his sectarian groove, not only without aiding, not only without sympathy for, but too often in positive hostility towards those whom they should hail as comrades and brothers, live and die leaving scarcely a foot-print on the soul-sands of the age.

Who can reckon the incalculable loss that the country sustains by this persistent antagonism of forces, which combined, would transform the nation in a single generation? Let us, who labour on a humbler plane, beware how we allow ourselves to drift into analogous dissociation, and pinning our faiths on no one particular reform, no one special panacea, even if we have not ourselves the opportunity of working in all directions, at least aid, sympathize, and co-operate with all who, in any form and in any direction, labour in singleness of heart for the common weal.

The time has not yet come when any of us, few as we are, can rightly take up a single branch of one of many questions and devote to that our entire thoughts and time, careless of all else. Your pet subjects are but side branches of the great question of elevating the status of our women, and cannot, it seems to me, be dissociated, theoretically or practically, from that. The majority of the opposition with which your proposals have been met in certain Native circles has had its origin in the conviction that our women and girls are not yet sufficiently educated to enable any great change in the social customs which regulate their lives to be safely made, at present.

To me personally, the promotion of female education (using the word in its broadest sense) as necessarily antecedent to the thorough eradication of the grievous evils you so forcibly depict, appears a more important and immediately pressing question than those selected by you.

I cannot plead guilty to being a benevolent let-alonist

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and in regard to which there is really no difference of opinion amongst us."

But this involves a double mistake. In the first place, though we differ amongst ourselves as to widow re-marriage, there is nothing in such diversity of opinion to prevent our combining, *if we are true patriots working unselfishly for our country's good*, to press as one man for those representative institutions in regard to which we are all agreed. In the second place no great political progress can ever be made unless a somewhat corresponding progress is being made in all other lines. One man must take up political, another social, another mental, another moral, another physical reform. And no one man or body of men can work too hard at, or make too much fuss over, his or their special line of reform, since push ahead as far as he or they may, they will only stimulate the champions of other causes to greater exertions and probably to still further advance in *their* special lines, and thus only amidst this generous rivalry of well doing in a dozen different directions will the nation grow and develop symmetrically in greatness and goodness. Every true son of India, however much he may differ from you as to methods, knows well that the reforms you aim at are noble and necessary ones, and every true son of India ought to feel it to be a sin against his country to say an unkind word against, or attribute the smallest unworthy motive to, one who is struggling so earnestly and unselfishly to advance in one direction that country's cause. I myself have devoted my life to political reform, but I none the less reverence those good and high-minded men who are everywhere (though all too few in numbers) labouring to raise the moral tone of the people, none the less sympathize with those learned and highly-cultured men who are striving to promote their education, or with those hearty honest men who desire by promoting athletic sports and games to raise their physique, and *à fortiori* is my heart none the less with those earnest and unselfish workers who, like yourself, are giving their lives to the cause of social reform. I can understand our differing amongst ourselves as to matters of

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practice, as to what should *first* be done and *how* to set about it, but I cannot understand such differences degenerating into personal injustice and ill-will ; I cannot understand anything but brotherly love and mutual sympathy between the co-workers in different lines in this one great national cause.

I say God bless all who are working for India.

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earnestness, his selfless, ceaseless devotion to the cause which he believed to be good and which he espoused, and by his unshakable faith that right and justice would eventually triumph. He was truly a great soul—one of the noblest Englishmen ever born. He was one of those benefactors of mankind who came to initiate movements of great potentiality for the good of their fellow-men. Mr. Hume combined in him the large-hearted love of freedom, of justice and of equality of treatment between man and man. He hated oppression and wrong-doing, and sincerely and earnestly desired the good of all his fellow-men."

The Hon. R. N. Mudholkear, speaking at Amraoti, said, "Misunderstood, misrepresented and reviled by shortsighted or perverse men, he was one of the most potent friends of British rule, a veritable pillar of strength to it. Directing the mind and energies of the thinking portion of the Indian community into the channels of constitutional agitation, he and his co-workers effectually minimized the chance of its flow into unsafe and dangerous courses, while his intense humanity and abiding sympathy for the Indian people deepened their faith in British justice. He was more than a far-sighted and noble Briton or a friend and benefactor of India. He was a saint, one of those beings sent now and then to the earth to rouse men to a due recognition of the higher and brighter side of human nature. In him India has lost a guide, a teacher, a leader, whose every word and every act was instinct with wisdom and deep affection; England a loyal, high-minded and far-seeing son; the Empire a statesman-like citizen, and the human race an ardent striver after great ideals."

While the leaders of Indian public opinion referred to Mr. Hume's services in terms of unqualified affection and admiration, the Indian newspapers paid warm tribute to the departed leader. The *Bengalee* of Calcutta wrote that to Mr. Hume belonged "the credit of organizing the scattered elements of public life and focusing them in an institution which was to cement the public spirit of the country, to build and stimulate national life. The first

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Congress that met in Bombay in 1885 was a small gathering of leading men, of which Allan Hume was the guiding spirit, but it was the parent of the great National Congress which in the course of the last quarter of a century has revolutionized the political aspect of the country. To-day from the heart of educated India there will go forth a great wail of sorrow at the death of one who helped forward, such as few Englishmen have done in the lifetime of this generation, the political interests of the people of India."

The *Amritza Bazar Patrika* referred to Mr. Hume's character as pure and unblemished, rarely to be found in any other country in the world. He served India without any thought of reward.

The *Indian Mirror* wrote that the "awakening of what is known as the national life of India was due pre-eminently to Allan Hume and his colleagues in the earlier days. It was they who stimulated public spirit and taught the people of India to seek their political salvation by constitutional political work. Advance on the lines of orderly and peaceful self-development was the first article of their political creed. In doubt and difficulty they stood by India like the valiant crew of an ocean liner, cheering and encouraging by hopeful and wise counsel."

A Mohammedan journal (*Comrade*) wrote that Mr. Hume "was one of those few high-souled Indian Civil Service men who devoted their life to selfless service for the people of this country and fearlessly championed the cause of its social and political regeneration at the ready sacrifice of official preferments and honours. But though denied official recognition, Mr. Hume's philanthropic activities for the uplifting of Indians gained for him a warm corner in Indian hearts. So firm was his hold on the confidence of the Indian masses that even in the dark days of the Mutiny their thorough reliance on his justice and kindness was never shaken. Such a life should be a model for our modern Anglo-Indian officers."

The *Leader* of Allahabad wrote : "The sorrow and grief of the hundreds of millions who inhabit this vast and great

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possible, so that posterity may see how we honoured the memory of a man who, though differing in race, made himself one of us, identifying himself completely with us and with all our aims for a better state and greater contentment."

He loved India (wrote the *Wednesday Review*) as no other British statesman has loved her, and he had his reward in the willing homage of a vast population. "Who can forget the enthusiasm which he roused among the people when he visited this country nineteen years ago! His tour was a triumphal progress, and showed what even a single Englishman could do to bind the people of India closer to England and deepen their attachment to British rule. What made Mr. Hume's advice so valuable was his candour, and he never cared to whitewash in a spirit of mistaken kindness the shortcomings of the people for whom he worked."

"One of the greatest Anglo-Indians of the last century," was the opinion of the *Madras Standard*. "But for his parental care, his unceasing interest, his extraordinary exertions, his timely advice and admonitions, and his great self-sacrifice, the Indian National Congress might not have steered clear of the shoals and rocks that beset its career. To the last he remained at the helm, faithful and true, and unshaken in his belief in its strength and usefulness. He looked forward to the formation of an Indian nation, happy, contented, and manly, and a tower of strength to the British Empire. And, we have no doubt, he died with the supreme satisfaction that a mortal can have of his life's great work being fairly on the road to fruition."

The *Mahratta*, of Poona, said that Hume's memory would "be cherished in India not so much for his official career as for the work that he did after retirement in rearing a national Indian institution—the Congress. No one else could be said to have done so much as he did to foster that nursling in those days."

The *Gujarati* thought that "Providence meant to preserve his life for a great political mission, and it will be admitted on all hands that Mr. Hume did nobly fulfil the mission that

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had been assigned to him. Even a man like Sir William Wedderburn, with all the gentle virtues of a God-fearing Christian and high-souled Englishman, has not escaped denunciation at the hands of some of his own countrymen. It is no wonder that Mr. A. O. Hume, with his more passionate temperament and irrepressible enthusiasm, called down upon his devoted head still more fierce denunciations and even abuse at the hands of the very same critics. But he never swerved from the path he had chalked out for himself."

The *Hindi Punch* wrote that the Political Rishi of modern Bharat Land had taken his *samādhi*—the last farewell—leaving his favourite child, now a grown-up and healthy handmaid, in the service of this country. "He watched and tended the child in the cradle. He witnessed with joy the baby's toddlings. He has seen the gradual growth of the maid, and he leaves her to-day wise and strong to blow the piercing conch-shell and arouse Britannia and to beg for just rights. It is no fighting suffragette who weeps to-day for her great and good father, but a gentle spirit that roams about teaching great truths and demanding great and oft-promised rights in the interests of the Mother-country. All honour to the noble parent! India mourns the passing of a great man, and that man has an abiding haven in the expansive and grateful heart of the Motherland."

Finally, the *Beharee* held that at his grave Indians must sink all their differences, and with a feeling of enduring gratitude to him knit themselves into a united body, common heirs to a common heritage, bound together by fealty to his love of our common Motherland. "The spirit of Mr. Hume will lovingly hover over the Congress gathering of 1912; and nothing, not even the brightest and the best monument we can raise to his great and beneficent memory, will be half as pleasing to him as the union of his political heirs in maintaining the integrity and greatness of the organization which India owes to him as the greatest consequence of the British advent and occupation of the country."

Public meetings were held at all the principal cities and



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years, steadily decreasing ; the revenue flowed in without the necessity of recourse to a single coercive process ; public libraries and numerous schools gave rich promise of future progress ; new lines of communication were being rapidly opened out, the railroad was fast opening ; the great canal, with its daily multiplying branches, steadily diffused fertility, through an ever-widening area, and all classes of the community, though not of course without their minor grievances, were on the whole singularly happy and contented. Suddenly the Mutiny burst upon us, effacing apparently in a day the labour of years" (p. 148 of the *Gazetteer*). With the spread of the Mutiny in the neighbouring district the situation here became extremely critical. Mr. Hume's energetic measures, wise counsel, determined attitude, with which the history of the district is replete, dispersed and quieted down the rebels ; and "in a few days the most perfect order was restored." During his temporary absence which the subsequent circumstances and his own "prostration with cholera" had forced upon him, he "kept up a continuous correspondence with the Indian officials and the well-disposed zemindars, communicating news and orders, deciding all difficult points referred to him, and endeavouring by proclamations and letters to keep alive every feeling of loyalty to the State." And even those who were rebelliously inclined were kept within bound by letters from Mr. Hume. He had been as anxious to return as his loyal and faithful officials and zemindars were to have him back. On his way back he learnt that no detachment had been, as was ordered by the Government, left behind by Brigadier Walpole, but "nothing daunted, Mr. Hume and his escort pushed on and reoccupied the station." His gallant dash at Anant Ram, the action at Harchandpore and numerous other skirmishes are still described in glowing terms. These point to his having been at the early age of twenty-eight as good a general and as great a statesman as any country might well be proud of. On July 2, 1858, Mr. Hume again fell ill and had to be relieved. That *very* day the rebel Raja whom he had

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already crushed before again raised his head. A period of unrest followed when he rejoined from leave and restored peace. This is a very striking example of his strong personality. A glance at the history of the period forcibly reminds one of another prominent trait of his character—his judicious selection of men and his unbounded confidence in their loyalty. Raja Lachman Singh, then a kumar, Munshis Debi Prasad, Ishwari Prasad, Ram Bakhsh, tehsildars, and Munshi Shiam Bihari Lal, Kotwal, among the officials, and Rao Jaswant Rao, K. Zar Singh of Partabner, L. Laik Singh of Marchandpore, Lal Chatur Singh of Sahar, Rao Jawahar Singh of Barhpura, the Raja of Malajani, the Bagpais of Lukhna, the Tewaris of Kudarkat, the rais of Takah and Babu Ajudhia Prasad of Etawah, *all Hindus*, were his faithful allies and were conspicuous for their loyalty. To each and all mutineers and loyalists he had but one reply—"It may be months, it may be years, but sooner or later the English Government will get the upper hand and every man will eat the fruit of his deeds." Memorable words indeed! They reveal intense sympathy and true loyalty. The two feelings are very happily blended, each overlapping the other. We leave Mr. Hume to describe with just pride the result of his just and wise policy and its moral effect upon those who came under the spell of his magnetic personality. "From the very day," he wrote, "I first at the borders of the district received the congratulatory visits of hundreds of our well-wishers, I gave it to be generally understood that I had no feelings of animosity to gratify. . . . The enemies of order had, even in the worst of times, always been in a minority, numerically speaking, but from the time that my intentions became generally known they certainly on the mainland parganas (excluding Auriya) scarcely exceeded 1 per cent. of the population. In this lay our strength, any surprise by the ill-affected and their mutineer friends was impossible; every move, every accession of strength, was reported at once from a dozen different quarters; men—nay whole communities—who had been plundering, were, instead of



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feelings, and grievances of the people. There was therefore a great gulf fixed between the foreign bureaucracy, self-centred on the heights of Simla, and the millions painfully toiling in the plains below. And about the years 1878 and 1879, economic, in combination with political, troubles were actively at work throughout India ; the physical suffering of the many, acted on by the intellectual discontent of the few, was rapidly bringing popular unrest to the danger point. For the masses of the peasantry, scourged by poverty, famine, and pestilence, were beginning to give way to despair ; they could not make their voices heard, and they saw no hope or relief ; while, in the schools and colleges, the leaven of Western education was working among the intellectuals, teaching lessons of political history, and showing them how it was only through storm and stress that the British people had won for themselves the blessings of freedom. Hence the mind of the younger generation was stirred by vague dreams of revolutionary, and even violent, change. This critical condition of affairs was clearly understood by Mr. Hume. He had exceptional knowledge of what was going on below the surface ; and he knew that there was imminent risk of a popular outbreak, destructive of that peaceful progress upon which the welfare of India depends. The new wine was fermenting in the old bottles, and at any moment the bottles might burst and the wine be spilled. What was to be done ? Happily the solution of this fateful problem was ready to his hand. It was to be found in the simple formula of "Trust in the People." The Indian people, intelligent, law-abiding, the heirs of an ancient civilization, are worthy of the fullest trust ; and his urgent message to the British nation was this, that the path of safety lies in trusting them, and in associating them in the management of their own affairs.

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The record of such a life must be of value to political thinkers among the British people, as teaching them how to fulfil a trust, such as never before has fallen to the lot of any nation. But specially it has seemed to me a duty to place before the youth of India the example of Mr. Hume's strenuous and unselfish life, and to bring into fresh remembrance the stirring words he uttered of encouragement and reproof, both alike prompted by his love of India, and his anxious care for her future. "Excelsior!" was his motto. His ideal was indeed a high one—the regeneration, spiritual, moral, social, and political, of the Indian people. But he taught that such a consummation could not be attained without the solid work-a-day qualities of courage, and industry, and self-denial.

### HIS PARENTAGE AND EARLY YEARS.

In order to realize the personality of Allan Hume, it is necessary to bear in mind his parentage, and his early surroundings. In the first place, he was the son of that sturdy and fearless Scottish patriot and reformer Joseph Hume, from whom it may be said that he inherited not only a political connection with India but also his love of science, and his uncompromising faith in democracy. The following character sketch is from the facile pen of the Rt. Hon. G. W. E. Russell: "Joseph Hume was born in 1777 and died in 1855. His father was a tradesman at Montrose: but the son preferred science to shopkeeping, and qualified as a surgeon. In 1796 he obtained an appointment in the service of the East India Company, and sailed for India. On the voyage the Purser fell sick; Hume took over his duties, and discharged them so well that the Company transferred him from marine to civil employment. He threw



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of the middle century the life and instruction of the young civilian differed in many respects from those of his successor to-day. He had less office work and less of European society; he was not so well equipped in theoretical knowledge, but he balanced the deficiency by a greater intimacy with the people he had to rule. Mr. Hume has himself described his early training. In the first month he had to take up the work of the Mohurrer or Clerk of the Police Station. Two or three months later he became Naib Darogha in another large thana, and then for a short period he had charge of a small thana as Thanadar. It was not until he had done all this that he was allowed to hear his first petty assault case. After the customary practical introduction into the routine of his varied duties, he became Assistant Magistrate and Collector, with special duties relating to dacoity investigations, and afterwards became Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Etawah. This was the position he was holding when the Mutiny broke out." The method here described was a good healthy training for the young civilian, not at all calculated to produce a "sun-dried bureaucrat." Lord George Hamilton, when Secretary of State for India, complained that by the more modern system the district officials were deprived of the power of initiative, and taken out of touch with the people, being "so overburdened with correspondence, reports, and returns that they are really imprisoned in their offices for the greater part of the day." This result of over-centralization was not the system under which Mr. Hume was trained; he began at the foot of the official ladder, and worked his way up, learning by experience the duties of each of his subordinates, and in an open-air life, coming into direct contact with all classes of the people. Not that he was in any way deficient in "book learning," for it was

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partly to his superiority in the departmental examinations that he owed his rapid advancement to the position of responsibility which he occupied when the troubles began.

### *The Indian Mutiny.*

We now come to the sad and terrible events of the Mutiny of 1857; and I cannot do better than give *in extenso* the admirable summary of events at Etawah contributed to the journal *India* by his friend Colonel C. H. T. Marshall of the Indian Army, which shows how Mr. Hume, by the confidence he inspired among the people of his district, was able to save the lives of the European residents, to organize a force of faithful local levies, and finally to restore order, after defeating in a pitched battle a far superior force of disciplined mutineers, and capturing their six guns. The following is the account given by Colonel Marshall:—

“Allan Hume joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1849, towards the end of his twentieth year. Before he had been nine years in India, the great Mutiny of 1857 broke out, and he had many opportunities of showing his capabilities as a soldier as well as a civilian. He got rapid promotion; for though only twenty-six, he was officiating as Chief Civil Officer in charge of the Etawah District, in the North-West Provinces, with an area of 1693 square miles, a population of 722,000, and a revenue of £136,500. The headquarters were at the town of Etawah, which contained 34,000 inhabitants.

“When the fatal month of May 1857 opened, all was going smoothly—crime decreasing, revenue flowing in easily, the Great Canal spreading fertility through an ever-widening area, the railroad fast ripening. The community seemed happy and contented. The storm burst on the 10th, when the 3rd Cavalry mutinied at

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Meerut, some two hundred and fifty miles to the north. Within two days the news reached Etawah and a small party of the mutineers appeared a day or so later. These were, after stout resistance, either captured or shot.

“What happened immediately after this is graphically told by Kaye in his work on the Sepoy Mutiny. He pays a fitting tribute to the subject of this article. He writes: ‘The Magistrate and Collector was Mr. A. O. Hume, a son of the great English reformer, who had inherited the high public spirit and the resolute courage of his father.’ He continues: ‘On May 18th and 19th, another party of fugitives from the 3rd Cavalry appeared at Jusuwnnuggur, ten miles from the town of Etawah. Being called upon to surrender by a patrol of police, they made a show of submission and then shot down their captors and took possession of a Hindu temple in a walled enclosure; there they prepared to defend themselves. When Hume heard of this he at once ordered his buggy, armed himself as best he could (with shot gun and revolver) and accompanied by his assistant, Mr. Daniell, started at 9 a.m. It was a blazing hot day and neither had broken his fast. On arriving, Hume invested the place with some irregular troopers and police. The difficulty was that the people were on the side of the mutineers. It was hopeless to assault, as they could obtain no support, on account of the great danger of storming. As the day passed, and the sun was setting, these two Englishmen, followed by only one policeman, made an effort to carry the place by themselves. The native was shot down and Daniell was shot through the face. Hume heroically got him away through the crowd to the carriage. They had killed one mutineer and mortally wounded another. The rebels escaped, during a storm, in the night.’

“Kaye adds: ‘This was one of the first of those heroic

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deeds of which I have before spoken . . . and bore noble witness to the courage and constancy of the national character. This English Magistrate and his assistant, in the face of an insurgent population, nobly strove to avenge themselves upon men who had a few days before murdered our own people.' They returned to Etawah, and 'for a while British authority as represented by Allan Hume was again in the ascendant.'

"The troops at Etawah still remained faithful; but not for long; for a few days later they also mutinied. They plundered the Treasury, burnt and looted the bungalows and released all the prisoners from the two jails. The ladies were got away safely to Agra Fort, escorted by loyal officials. The men remained at their posts trying to restore order. Mr. Hume began to raise local levies and hoped he might weather the storm, but all was in vain. News of disaster after disaster came in: the tide of the mutiny rose hourly, and by June 17 it was clear that the lives of none of the English there were safe, and that no good would result from their remaining at headquarters. They felt compelled to fall back upon Agra, and escaped during the night, reaching the Fort in safety.

"From the Agra Fort Hume kept in touch by correspondence (which was secretly conveyed) with the officials of his district, whom he knew to be still faithful. By proclamations and private letters he tried to let every one know the true state of things from the British point of view and to keep alive feelings of loyalty to the State.

"On July 5th a battle was fought at Agra. The rebel force consisted of two thousand of the best-drilled native soldiers with a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery. It was a sanguinary engagement in which many officers were killed. Hume was through it all serving with a

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Etawah, having accomplished the whole affair, including the fifty miles' ride, in twelve hours.'

"During the following six months Hume was constantly at work in the field against the rebels escaping from Oudh. One or two extracts may here be given from his final report when the pacification of the District had been accomplished :—

"On April 21 we made a most successful cavalry attack on a party of Roop Singh's at Ajeetmul, and though the enemy were in great force all round, drove them with the loss of seven men helterskelter into the ravines. The audacity of this attack, for the time, completely frightened the rebels. Next day, by a very pretty combined movement from two directions, we surprised the enemy, cut up fifteen, took prisoner and hung three. . . . Mr. C. Doyle was shot through the right shoulder.'

"In the May following there came a series of desperate operations on the banks of the Jumna against Feroze Shah, of the Delhi royal family. 'Of this,' wrote Hume, 'it is sufficient here to say that in an open boat in the middle of May (with a force of 410 horse and foot, and two 3-pounders) we in seven days collected and raised (often under the enemy's fire) 36 boats, and after many skirmishes and a pitched battle (in which we defeated a far superior force of the mutineers, taking the whole of their six guns, all their baggage, and killing eighty-one regular sepoys), safely conveyed them 63 miles down the river, past hostile villages and forts.'

"By the end of the year the District of Etawah was once more at peace; and in closing the notes on this important stage of Hume's career, no better summary of the work he did can be given than by quoting some of his remarks at the end of his report :—

"No District in the North-West Provinces has, I believe, been more completely restored to order. None

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in which so few severe punishments have been inflicted. Mercy and forbearance have, I think I may justly say, characterized my administration. . . . We had before us then a great and glorious problem to solve, viz., how to restore peace and order and the Authority of Government with the least possible amount of human suffering.'

"There can be no doubt that his statesmanlike tact, his brilliant courage and tenacity of purpose made it easier for him than it would have been for many others to restore confidence among the people and evolve peace and order out of chaos.

"He did not receive his reward until 1860, when he was created a Companion of the Bath. Little enough reward was it for his great services. But those days were different from the present day, when honours and decorations are thrown broadcast among the deserving and the undeserving alike."

Let us now proceed to review some of his most notable work for the peace and progress of his district.

### (1) *Popular Education.*

In a detailed report dated 21st January 1857, Mr. Hume describes, as follows, the circumstances under which he initiated his system of free schools in Etawah: "In February last I received semi-official permission to attempt the establishment of Elementary Free Schools, to be supported by a voluntary cess, contributed by the landed proprietors. After no little opposition had been overcome by patient argument and perseverance, a large majority of the Zemindars of Pergunnah Etawah consented to the levy of the cess; and they having formally declared the same at a great public meeting held for the purpose, and paid up the first instalment of their subscrip-

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Government Circular of 28th January 1859, in which objection was taken to the employment of native agency for the promotion of education, and the Collector was warned not to attempt to persuade the people to send their children to the schools or to contribute to the maintenance. Against these orders Mr. Hume, in a letter of 30th March 1859, respectfully, but earnestly protested, pointing out that the Court of Directors had directed officers "to aid with all the influence of their high position the extension of education." He further explains, in considerable detail, why he believes that it is through the influence of their own leaders that the people can best be convinced of the benefits of education; and he concludes on a personal note of deep pathos: "I cannot," he says, "but found hopes of indulgence on the intense interest that I feel in the subject, and the ceaseless attention that I have paid it. For years past it has been *the* dream of my leisure moments, *the* object of my hopes, and although I have *achieved* little-as yet, I cannot as I watch the feeble beginnings avoid recalling an alpine scene of happy memories, when I saw the first drops of a joyous stream trickling through the huge avalanche that had so long embayed it, and feeling confidence from that augury that day by day and month by month that tiny rill gathering strength and size will work out its resistless way, and at last dissipating the whole chilling mass of ignorance, the accumulations of ages, pass on unobstructed to fertilize and enrich an empire. History, alas! presents us with too many examples of the long obstructed stream hurling aside at last roughly its opposing barriers and sweeping onwards an ungovernable flood heaping up desolation where it should have scattered flowers. Let it be ours to smooth and not impede its path, ours not by cold explanations of policy but by enlisting the sympathies

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and affections of the people in the cause, to watch and direct its progress and turn it, under God's blessing, to good, and good alone." The documents at my disposal do not state what, at the time, was the effect of this passionate appeal. But the whole episode, showing how gallantly, under the most difficult circumstances, the battle was fought more than half a century ago, should hearten those who have now taken it in hand to emancipate their poorer brethren from the bonds of ignorance, by making elementary education not only free but compulsory.

### (2) *Police Reform.*

In 1860 Government issued orders to reorganize the police in accordance with the recommendations of the Police Commission, and Police Superintendents were appointed for each District, to act under the orders of an Inspector-General of Police. By the 1st of January 1861 the Etawah police were reorganized by Mr. Hume, as directed. But, having duly carried out the orders of Government, he felt it his duty (see his despatch of March 1861) to report his belief that the new system was "defective in principle," "impracticable in its chief provision," and, with few exceptions, "a change for the worse." Briefly stated, his objections were, that the system failed to secure the severance of police and judicial functions; that it created a divided responsibility between the Police Superintendent and the District Magistrate; and that the Police Superintendents, on whom practically devolved the work of criminal investigations, were destitute both of local experience and of local influence. His remedy was that the Chief Civil Officer of the District (the "Collector") should represent the Executive Government in all departments, including the police; but that neither he nor his sub-



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ordinates should exercise any magisterial powers whatever. The police duties should, he considered, be performed by the several grades of the Collector's subordinates, men well in touch with the population, and possessing influence as representing the supreme authority in all departments ; while the Collector, as head of the District police, should be responsible, through the Inspector-General, to the Government for the repression of crime and the general peace of his District. The ordinary magisterial work of the District would be entrusted to Honorary Magistrates and Subordinate Judges of the various grades, working under a Stipendiary Magistrate, from whom an appeal would lie to the Sessions Judge. This scheme provided for the complete separation of police and judicial functions which still remains a pressing need at the present day ; and it must also strongly commend itself to those who hold that the Collector should be the responsible embodiment of the "Sirkar," in all branches of the administration within his own district, and lament the present destruction of his authority by the encroachments of the centralized departments.

### (3) "*Abkaree*"—*The "Wages of Sin."*

Similarly, as regards the Liquor Traffic, he reported, 14th September 1860, that the orders of the Government had been carried out, producing an increase of receipts, Rs. 1858 in excess of the previous year, and Rs. 5251 in excess of the average collections of the past ten years ; but at the same time he did not hesitate to express, in the strongest terms, his abhorrence of such a source of revenue : "Financially speaking," he wrote, "bearing in mind the almost unexampled distress in the face of which this settlement was concluded, it may be regarded

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as eminently successful. To me however the constant growth of the Abkaree revenue is a source of great regret. Year after year, but alas in vain, I protest against the present iniquitous system which first produced and now supports a large class whose sole interest it is to seduce their fellows into drunkenness and its necessary concomitants, debauchery and crime. Unfortunately these tempters are too successful, and year by year the number of drunkards and the demand for drugs and spirituous liquors increases. Those only who like myself take great pains to ascertain what goes on amongst the native community, really have any conception of the frightful extent to which drunkenness has increased during the last twenty years. Moreover, while we debauch our subjects we do not even pecuniarily derive any profit from their ruin. Of this revenue, the wages of sin, it may in the words of the old adage be truly said that illgotten wealth never thrives, and for every rupee additional that the Abkaree yields, two at least are lost to the public by crime, and spent by the Government in suppressing it. I fear that it is useless saying more now on this subject—for five years I have yearly but without avail protested against the present system, and though I at this moment see no hopes of reform, I have no doubt whatsoever that if I be spared a few years longer I shall live to see effaced in a more Christian-like system one of the greatest existing blots on our government of India. I trust that this letter may be submitted in full to the Board." Sad to say, after half-a-century this "greatest existing blot" still remains uneffaced.

### (4) "*The People's Friend*."

Mr. Hume, looking forward to coming years, had a special care for the young, both for the docile and the way-

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States. These treaties were successfully negotiated by Mr. Hume; and the Secretary of State cordially recognized the value of his services, writing as follows to the Viceroy (Despatch No. 3 of 6th February 1879): "I entirely concur in the high appreciation of Mr. Hume's long and valuable services expressed by your Excellency's Government; for to him, as you observe, is due the initiation, prosecution, and completion of that policy which has led to the agreements entered into with the several States concerned." In a letter from Mr. Hume to the Press some interesting particulars are given as to the merits of the award, under which the Sambhur Lake and other sources of salt supply were transferred from the Rajputana States to the British Government. On the one hand it had been contended that the amount awarded as compensation was mean and insufficient; on the other hand he had been severely taken to task for his supposed reckless liberality. As regards the allegation of insufficiency, Mr. Hume points out that the two States chiefly concerned were Jeypore and Jodhpore, and under the award Jeypore received double the amount realized in previous years, while Jodhpore received three lakhs more than it ever did before. On the other hand, as regards the claims of the Government, Mr. Hume's award was accepted and confirmed by Lord Mayo and Sir John Strachey, the Minister of Finance; and if the liberality to the Rajput States seemed at the time excessive, it was justified by the ultimate results; for by the employment of scientific methods, the Government became a gainer financially from the transaction; while the public was much benefited: where  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions of maunds were before produced, 5 millions were now brought into the market, so that for Rs. 3 annas 2 per maund a better article was procurable than that for which Rs. 6 and 7 was previously paid.

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## *An Agricultural Department.*

But while thus engaged in large transactions for the benefit of the public revenue, his anxious thought continued always to be for the welfare of the peasant cultivators; and fortunately his views met with the fullest sympathy from Lord Mayo, who became Governor-General in 1869. Lord Mayo was himself a practical agriculturist; he had indeed farmed for a livelihood, and made a living out of it: "Many a day," he used to say, "have I stood the livelong day in the market selling my beasts." Hitherto the attention of the Government had been chiefly directed to collecting the revenue, and little had been done to develop agricultural resources; more energy had been applied to shearing the sheep than to feeding him. Lord Mayo, as an expert, understood the fatal consequences of such a policy; and in consultation with Mr. Hume, proposed to provide a remedy, by organizing the agricultural department on a business footing as a genuine Bureau of Agriculture, and placing it under a competent Director-General, with a free hand to work out the salvation of rural India.

In a pamphlet entitled "Agricultural Reform in India," published in 1879, Mr. Hume gives particulars of this scheme, which proposed to make the Director-General of Agriculture a whole-time officer, supreme in his own department, and only nominally attached for official purposes to the Secretariat: "The Director-General was to have immediately under him a small staff of experts, and was to keep up only just such an office as was absolutely unavoidable. There was to be as little writing and as much actual work as possible. Directors of Agriculture were to be appointed in each Province, also to be aided by experts. They were to work partly through the

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direct agency of farms and agricultural schools, and partly through the revenue officials of all grades down to the village accountants." It was an open secret that Lord Mayo regarded Mr. Hume as an ideal Director-General of Agriculture; and no one can read this pamphlet without seeing how intimately he had studied the peasant cultivators, on whose behalf he was striving—their merits and their shortcomings, their difficulties, and the remedies to be applied. The tradition and experience of three thousand years have given them minute knowledge with regard to their own ancestral holdings; and he points out that they know to a day when it is best to sow each staple and each variety of each staple; they accurately distinguish every variety of soil, and the varying properties and capacities of each; they fully realize the value of manures; they know the advantages of deep ploughing, and thoroughly pulverizing the soil; but they also realize where, with a scanty supply of manure, it would be folly to break the shallow-lying pan: "As for weeds, their wheat-fields would, in this respect, shame ninety-nine hundredths of those in Europe." "So far therefore as what may be called non-scientific agriculture is concerned, there is little to teach them. . . . On the other hand, we must not overrate their knowledge; it is wholly empirical, and is in many parts of the country, if not everywhere, greatly limited in its application by tradition and superstition. . . . So, then, it is not only external disadvantages against which the Indian cultivator has to contend, it is not only that his knowledge is still in the primary experience stage, but that even this knowledge is often rendered of no avail by the traditions of an immemorial religion of agriculture." In the Appendix to his Pamphlet are given a number of quaint couplets, current in Upper India, which record the traditional prognostications with regard to each of the "Nakhats,"

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or subdivisions of the Zodiac. The twelve Nakhsats which fill the critical period between the 23rd of May and the 4th of November, are the most important for the cultivator, and indicate good or evil influence with regard to sowings, harvestings, and the seasonableness of the rainfall. The obstacles to progress caused by superstition and the belief in omens and divinations will, it is hoped, give way before rural education, especially if it is free and compulsory. But the troubles of the cultivator arising from more material causes, form the main difficulty in the case : his want of capital for irrigation and manure, his bondage to the moneylender, the grievous mortality among the plough-cattle. As regards this last point, Mr. Hume feelingly describes the tragedy of these faithful and beautiful friends of man : "Over a great portion of the Empire, the mass of the cattle are starved for six weeks every year. The hot winds roar, every green thing has disappeared, no hot weather forage is grown, the last year's fodder has generally been consumed in keeping the well-bullocks on their legs during the irrigation of the spring crops, and all the husbandman can do is just to keep his poor brutes alive on the chopped leaves of the few trees and shrubs he has access to, the roots of grass and herbs that he digs out of the edges of fields, and the like. In good years he just succeeds ; in bad years the weakly ones die of starvation. But then come the rains. Within the week, as though by magic, the burning sands are carpeted with rank luscious herbage, the cattle *will* eat and overeat, and *millions* die of one form or other of cattle disease, springing out of this starvation, followed by sudden repletion with rank, juicy, immature herbage." Mr. Hume estimated the average annual loss of cattle in India by preventible cattle disease at fully ten million beasts, roughly valued at £7,500,000. "And be it noted that it is not only the



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fied scheme "was met with perhaps the most strenuous opposition any long-considered project of a Viceroy, himself a practical expert in the particular subject, ever encountered, and when at the last the Department was created, it had lost every one of the essential characters on which its possible success as a Bureau of Agriculture was absolutely dependent." This sinister and unreasoning obstruction reminds one of the bitter complaint of Sir Louis Mallet, when Permanent Under Secretary at the India Office in 1875. In a minute, printed in the report of the Famine Commission of 1880, he wrote: "I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well-digested set of facts, as to the recognition of general principles"; and he instanced "the vehement opposition of some members of Council" to his advocacy of Dr. Forbes Watson's proposals for an industrial survey in India. The treatment accorded to Lord Mayo calls to mind how similar obscurantist counsels prevailed in 1884, when the scheme for Agricultural Banks, recommended unanimously by Lord Ripon's Government, and approved by public opinion in India and in England, was stabbed to death in the dark when it entered the portals of the India Office.

### (C) 1870 TO 1879, AS SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

As Lord Mayo was unable to carry out his scheme for a real working Agricultural Bureau, he had to content himself with making agriculture one of the subjects included in a miscellaneous department of the Secretariat, entitled

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the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce. In July 1871 he appointed Mr. Hume as Secretary in this Department, on account of his special knowledge of agriculture, transferring him from the Home Department, where he had been acting as Secretary for a year. At the same time he changed the designation of the Department, putting Agriculture before Revenue ; but to this the Secretary of State took exception, and in his Despatch of 3rd August 1871, directed that in the title of the Department "Revenue," as the subject of paramount importance, should come first. At the same time he laid down the rule that "the officer appointed to the post of Secretary in this Department, should always be chosen on account of his knowledge of the subjects connected with revenue, rather than from any knowledge which he may possess of agricultural or commercial matters." Agriculture had therefore to take a back seat ; and upon this conclusion Mr. Hume remarks, "It will be seen, therefore, that as constituted, this Department never was, and never was intended by the Home Government to be, a Department of Agriculture. Lord Mayo hoped to convert it into this, but with his death India lost the warmest, most competent, and at the same time, most influential advocate for agricultural reform. No change, such as he contemplated, has ever been made in the constitution of the Department, and succeeding administrations have only made the official bonds more rigid, and converted its chief more and more thoroughly into a mere desk-tied secretary." It was reserved for a later generation to realize that improved agriculture is the backbone of Indian finance.

Though deeply disappointed by the frustration of Lord Mayo's scheme, Mr. Hume did not on that account relax his efforts. He was a workman of the sort that, if



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service." This platitude was in reply to a letter from Mr. Hume inquiring in respectful terms the reasons for his removal. No dereliction of duty, or incapacity, was alleged or suggested ; the reply was in substance a refusal to give any reason whatever for action altogether out of accord with official precedent. But if no reasons were forthcoming from the Viceroy and his advisers, public opinion, through the Press, was not slow to give its view of the merits. It was clear that a great principle affecting the *morale* of the public service was at stake, and I have before me extracts from leading Anglo-Indian journals, not usually too friendly to Mr. Hume, which declare, in uncompromising terms, that his offence was that he was too honest and too independent. The *Pioneer* characterized the whole proceeding as "the grossest jobbery ever perpetrated"; the *Indian Daily News* said it was "a great wrong"; and the *Statesman*, "Undoubtedly he has been treated shamefully and cruelly." But the best statement of the case is contained in an article in the *Englishman* of 27th June 1879, a part of which I will now reproduce. It is believed to have been from the pen of a distinguished member of the legal profession, and friends of Mr. Hume will be glad to read this vindication of his personal action, and of the principles for which he suffered. Referring to the "measure by which Mr. Hume was summarily superseded and degraded," the *Englishman* writes : "The plea advanced in justification of this arbitrary act was that Mr. Hume habitually, in his minutes on measures coming up for discussion in his department, expressed his views with great freedom, without regard to what might be the wishes or intentions of his superiors. If he believed a particular policy to be wrong, he opposed it without hesitation, using plain language for the expression of his views. We cannot find that any other charge has been brought against him.

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He is notoriously a very hard worker, and Government will not easily find his equal in knowledge of the special subjects dealt with in his department. But he is what, according to the present 'Imperial' phraseology, is called insubordinate; this is the alleged ground of his transfer, and this is the point which to us appears most seriously to call for consideration. By 'insubordinate' the Government appears to mean, not that an officer refuses to obey orders, not even that he neglects to carry out in the best possible way orders which he does not himself approve, but that he refuses to join in the cry of 'Peace, Peace' when Government says it is peace, but when it is really war. The present theory of official subordination is, that an officer is not merely to obey orders, not only to do his best to facilitate their execution, but that he is even in his most confidential, semi-official utterances, to suppress any indication of his dissent from what he disapproves, if he knows or has reason to suppose that the Viceroy desires to carry the point. In the days of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, and Lord Mayo, the freest expression of the honest opinions of Secretaries and Under-Secretaries was not only permitted but invited. To have expressed to any one without the charmed circle of the Government opinions adverse to the Government policy, would even then have been considered unpardonable, but inside the circle every official was not only permitted, but required, to express his opinions freely." The article goes on to say that under Lord Northbrook a change was initiated; he could not endure the criticism by his own subordinates of measures he approved; and Lord Lytton intensified this repression: "Clearly there is no security or safety now for officers in Government employment; neither length of service, nor known ability, nor industry, nor all those merits which go to make up a public servant's claims—can avail to protect anyman from

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Yarkand expedition, which he was editing, had to be abandoned. It may be added that, in order to accommodate his Ornithological Museum, he had spent £15,000 on Rothney Castle, his beautiful house at Simla. In the following narrative, Colonel C. H. T. Marshall, of the Indian Army, himself a high authority on Ornithology, and collaborator in the "Game Birds of India," bears witness to the supreme importance of Mr. Hume's work in this branch of natural science :

"Allan Octavian Hume was beyond all doubt the greatest authority on the ornithology of the Indian Empire. He, as it were, succeeded Dr. Jerdon, who brought out an excellent book on the Indian avifauna some fifty odd years ago. From the time he began to take an interest in bird life in the early 'sixties he never spared himself, intellectually, physically, or financially, in his endeavours to accumulate material for the great work, 'The Birds of the Indian Empire,' which it was his ambition to give to the world. All his spare time, when free from his official duties, was devoted to forwarding this object.

"For many years he was Commissioner of Inland Customs (known as the Salt Department) in the days when the great Salt Hedge lay across India. This was guarded by a large staff of officials to collect the tax on the salt which was taken through the various gates. Many of these, both English and Indian, became his active and useful helpers. His inspection duties took him all over India. Wherever he went he made a point of endeavouring to obtain recruits and of persuading people he met to interest themselves in ornithology. With his usual generosity he was always ready to help those who could not afford to collect. The result was that he had more than fifty willing helpers between Cape Comorin and Peshawar and from Nepal to Gujarat, as well as in all parts of Burma. One thing he insisted on

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was absolute accuracy. Every bird-skin had to have a ticket attached showing sex, colouring of soft parts, certain measurements, locality and date of shooting. No egg was added to his collection unless species, place, and date were recorded on the shell. In most cases one of the parent birds was sent also, so as to make sure of the identity of the eggs.

“ He endeared himself to all who worked for him. His enthusiasm was infectious and his knowledge of his favourite subject marvellous. He was known familiarly among his fellow-workers as ‘The Pope of Ornithology.’ In his beautiful Simla home, Rothney Castle, there was a museum for the collection, which was the ‘Mecca’ for all of us who collected for him ; and none of us ever left his hospitable roof and his charming society without having learnt something new on the subject we were studying from our guide, philosopher, and friend.

“ The notes on bird life, sent from all parts of India and worked up by himself, grew rapidly and filled many folios. The collection gathered together during some five-and-twenty years amounted to the enormous number of sixty-three thousand bird-skins and nineteen thousand eggs. Everything promised well for the production of one of the finest works on ornithology that could be brought out. But, alas ! this great work which was so near completion was never to appear !

“ During the winter of 1884, when Simla was under snow and Mr. Hume was down on the plains, his house was left in charge of some of his Indian servants. The precious and voluminous manuscripts were deposited in one of the museum rooms. When he returned in the spring he found to his horror that these invaluable and irreplaceable papers had been stolen and must have been destroyed. Nothing could be done, for there was no clue as to when the theft had been committed. It is

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expressed its appreciation of this "unrivalled series of specimens":

"Taken in conjunction with his gift in 1891, of the bulk of his collection of similar objects, it constitutes one of the most valuable acquisitions of the kind ever received by that institution. Apart from the collection presented at various times during the first half of the last century by Mr. Brian Hodgson, the Museum before 1891 was poor in specimens of Indian big game, whereas it now possesses, thanks to Mr. Hume, a collection of these objects which is certainly unsurpassed and probably unrivalled. When Mr. Hume gave the bulk of his collection to the Museum in 1891, he reserved for himself a certain number of picked specimens, and it is these that have now become the property of the nation.

"The collection, which embraces specimens not only from India proper, but from the Himalaya, Kuen-Lun, Pamirs, Burma, etc., was made at a time when the big game of many parts of this area was more abundant than is the case at the present day, and consequently includes finer examples of many species than are now obtainable. And it is this which constitutes its chief value and interest, as it would nowadays be quite impossible to bring together a similar collection. Mr. Hume never did things by halves, and when his collections of big game trophies and birds were made he had collectors or agents at work in all the countries accessible from India.

"Nowadays, it is almost superfluous to mention, sportsmen attach a high value to heads which are 'records,' or nearly such, in the matter of horn-length; and it is quite obvious that as many specimens as possible of this class—as being the finest and handsomest of their kind—ought to be in the national collection. In specimens of this nature the Hume bequest is particularly rich, con-

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taining at least five which appear to be 'records' in their particular species, and many others which approximate more or less closely in dimensions to this standard.

"To particularize such specimens on the present occasion would be out of place, more especially as their dimensions are given in Mr. Rowland Ward's 'Records of Big Game.' It must accordingly suffice to state that among the species represented by unusually fine heads are the magnificent wild yak of Tibet, the chiru antelope, with its long V-shaped black horns, of the same area, the Mongolian, Yarkand, and Indian gazelles, the blackbuck of the plains of India, whose spiral horns are, perhaps, the most graceful of all Asiatic ruminants, the markhor goat and ibex of the Himalaya, the so-called ibex of the Nilgiris—which survives only as the result of special Government protection—the lordly gaur, or bison, as it is miscalled by sportsmen, of the Pachmarhi and other Indian hill-ranges, and the great buffalo of Assam. Of the latter animal, it may be mentioned, the Museum has long possessed the 'record' horns (and a wonderful 'record' at that), which were discovered during the eighteenth century in the cellar of a house in Wapping, and presented to Sir Hans Sloane, whose collections formed the nucleus of the British Museum. Wild sheep, too, are strongly represented, the chief species being the massive-horned Tibetan race of the argali, Marco Polo's sheep of the Pamir, whose horns, although less massive, form a longer and more open spiral, the smaller urial of the Punjab and Ladak, and the Tibetan bharal, which stands midway between sheep and goats.

"All the above belong to what naturalists call the hollow-horned ruminants, or those which alone carry true horns; but the collection likewise includes some magnificent heads of deer, whose branching cranial appendages are properly designated antlers. Among

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that at all hazards the authorities must be awakened to the urgency of the case. In no grudging spirit he acknowledged the benefits conferred by British rule : the blessings of peace, and protection to life and property. But the *Pax Britannica* has not solved the economic problem, nor availed to preserve the debt-laden and despairing peasantry from the ravages of famine and disease. British rulers, he maintained, had failed, not from any lack of good intention, but from insufficient knowledge. The sufferings of the Indian masses from famine and disease arose from poverty ; and this poverty was preventible, if the Government would take into their counsels experienced representatives of the people, who know exactly where the shoe pinches. But the Government would take no action. What was to be done ? The case was one of extreme urgency, for the deaths by famine and pestilence were counted, not by tens of thousands, or by hundreds of thousands, but by millions ; and in order to constrain the Government to move, the leaders of the Indian people must adopt measures of exceptional vigour, following the drastic methods pursued in England by Bright and Cobden in their great campaign on behalf of the people's food.

In the days of his youth Mr. Hume had witnessed the progress of this campaign, and he told how the delegates of the Corn-Law-League were refused a hearing by the House of Commons ; and then Cobden, in few but weighty words, announced the new propaganda, which was to have such far-reaching results for the people of England : " The delegates," he said, " have offered to instruct the House ; the House has refused to be instructed ; and the most unexceptionable and effectual way will be by instructing the nation." " So," continued Mr. Hume, " has it fared with us ; our educated men singly, our Press far and wide, our representatives at the

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National Congress—one and all—have endeavoured to instruct the Government, but the Government, like all autocratic governments, has refused to be instructed, and it will now be for us to instruct the nations, the great English nation in its island home, and the far greater nation of this vast continent, so that every Indian that breathes upon the sacred soil of this our Motherland may become our comrade and coadjutor, our supporter, and, if needs be, our soldier in the great war that we, like Cobden and his noble band, will wage for justice, for our liberties and rights."

In pursuance of such a propaganda in India, Mr. Hume set to work with his wonted energy, appealing for funds to all classes of the Indian community, distributing tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets, sending out lecturers, and calling meetings both in large towns and in country districts. Throughout the country over 1,000 meetings were thus held, at many of which over 5,000 persons were present; and arrangements were made for the distribution of half a million of pamphlets; translations into twelve Indian languages being circulated of two remarkable pamphlets, entitled "A Congress Catechism," by Mr. Veraraghava Chariar of Madras, and "A Conversation between Moulvi Furreeduddeen and one Rambuksh of Kam-bakhtpur," showing by a parable the necessary evils of absentee State landlordism, however benevolent the intention may be.

It will naturally be asked, What was the attitude of the Indian Government, not constitutionally tolerant of popular agitation, towards this bold and drastic political propaganda? The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, speaking at the Hume Memorial Meeting in London on the 6th of August last, indicated the probable inclinations of the Government under such circumstances. "No Indian," he said, "could have started the Indian National Congress.



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over twenty printed pages, and Mr. Hume's to nearly sixty ; but I will give ample extracts from the text, with a summary of the arguments on both sides.

Looking to these considerations, Sir Auckland's letter of remonstrance, and Mr. Hume's answer, vindicating his action, may be taken as the pleadings in the Congress case at the most critical period of the movement ; showing what could be said for and against the bold and drastic policy of appealing to the masses of the Indian people, on the lines marked out and followed in England by Bright and Cobden. Sir Auckland considered that this new departure was premature and dangerous ; on the other hand Mr. Hume held that it was the path of safety, and the only way of averting national disaster.

Upon this issue Sir Auckland's argument may be summarized as follows. The question, he said, was one of both principle and methods. As regards principle and the general objects of the Congress, he was more or less in sympathy ; especially he was in favour of the expansion of the Legislative Councils. And as regards methods, he saw little to object to in the earlier proceedings of the Congress, as manifested at Bombay and Calcutta in the sessions of 1885 and 1886. But his sympathy received a "severe check" after the Madras Congress of 1887, when the propaganda became aggressive, on the model of the Anti-Corn-Law campaign in England. He considered that in the existing political condition of India such a propaganda was premature, and likely to defeat the objects in view. He further anticipated definite mischief from this aggressive or denunciatory method, because it tended to excite hatred of the Government and the officials, and because agitation would produce counter-agitation, dividing the country into strongly hostile camps. He objected to the tone

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and substance of the pamphlets recently issued, which in his opinion misrepresented the policy and action of the Government; and, commenting on the attitude of the Congress, he considered that its supporters unfairly claimed to represent the Indian population. Finally, he suggested that the reformers should occupy themselves with social reform, as being more needed than political reform, for the welfare of the people.

These objections are no doubt serious. But at the same time it was reassuring that they were directed against the methods, and not against the principles or objects of the Congress. As to these, Sir Auckland Colvin, keen observer and careful administrator as he was, saw little to disapprove. On the contrary, he expressed sympathy with the leading proposal of the Congress programme—the expansion of the Legislative Councils on a popular basis—which was designed to bring the most able and trustworthy Indian intellectuals into co-operation with the Government, in the grand task of rescuing the millions of India from the miseries of ignorance, of destitution, and disease. Such doctrine was in accordance with common sense. It needed no justification; and its practical wisdom was proved by the logic of events. For the early leaders of the Congress—men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir Pherozesha Mehta, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Justice Budrudin Tyabji, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. Bhupendranath Bâsu, Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer—became the trusted advisers of the Government; and, by force of merit, rose to the highest offices, whether judicial, municipal, legislative, or executive. There is no truer saying than, that in the affairs of life, as in mechanics, where there is no resistance there is no support; and it was not long before the Government realized the value of strong and independent men, who afterwards proved to

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ment among the unreconcilable section of the dissatisfied intellectuals. The danger is enhanced by the fact that the autocratic power is exercised by a handful of foreigners, alien to the population in language, race, and creed, and belonging to a masterful nation singularly regardless of the feelings and prejudices of others. Consequently the mutterings of the storm are unheeded by them, and great disasters, like the Mutiny of 1857, and the tragedies of Cabul, come upon them like a bolt from the blue. To listen therefore to the warnings of "the man who knows," like Mr. Hume, is vital to the continuance of British rule in India. History tells a similar story. It is true that in Venice oligarchic government lasted for a long term of years, but there the dominion over the people was exercised by men of their own race, men of singular political insight, who kept themselves well informed, and dealt skilfully with the beginnings of trouble. Such favourable conditions are not enjoyed by the Indian bureaucracy. As pointed out by Mr. Hume, the true historic parallel is to be found in the regime of the Bourbons at the close of the eighteenth century: they had neither eyes to see nor ears to hear, and sudden destruction was brought upon them by the hatred of the intellectuals energizing the dull despair of the peasant masses. No doubt when the crisis comes, the Englishman meets disaster in a fine spirit, and usually comes out more or less victorious in the end. But there is a grievous waste of life and labour involved in this purblind trust in the sad method of "muddling through."

### *Indian Religious Devotees.*

Looking to Mr. Hume's experiences in the Mutiny of 1857, as briefly described in these pages, and the

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boldness and resource which he displayed, no one can doubt the importance which attaches to his personal belief in the reality of the threatened danger. Also his judgment was confirmed by that of a wide circle of Congress friends spread over the different Provinces. But in addition to this, information and warning came to him from a very special source, that is, from the leaders among those devoted, in all parts of India, to a religious life. Among his papers there exists a very illuminating memorandum regarding "the legions of secret quasi-religious orders, with, literally, their millions of members, which form so important a factor in the Indian problem." As regards those professing to be religious devotees, he recognizes that a large proportion of the Faquirs, Bairágis, and Sádhus are little better than rogues and impostors. But if there is dross, there is also gold; and among the heads or *Gurus* of these sects are to be found men of the highest quality who, like the ancient Hebrew prophets, have purged themselves from earthly desires, and fixed their aspirations on the highest good. These religious leaders, through their *Chelas* or disciples, are fully informed of all that goes on under the surface, and their influence is great in forming public opinion. It was with these men that Mr. Hume came into touch, towards the end of Lord Lytton's viceroyalty. The ground of sympathy may have been in part religious, for Mr. Hume was a keen student of Eastern religions. But the practical reason why these men made a move towards him was because they feared that the ominous "unrest" throughout the country, which pervaded even the lowest strata of the population, would lead to some terrible outbreak, destructive to India's future, unless men like him, who had access to the Government, could do something to remove the general feeling of despair, and thus avert

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a catastrophe. "The jungle is all dry," they said; "fire does spread wonderfully in such when the right wind blows, and it is blowing now, and hard." "This," writes Mr. Hume, "is how the case was put to me, and knowing the country and the people as I do—having been through something of the same kind, though on a small scale, in the Mutiny—and having convinced myself that the evidence of the then existing state of the proletariat was real and trustworthy, I could not then and do not now entertain a shadow of a doubt that we were then truly in extreme danger of a most terrible revolution."

What the nature of this evidence was, cannot be better told than in his own words: "The evidence that convinced me, at the time (about fifteen months, I think, before Lord Lytton left) that we were in imminent danger of a terrible outbreak was this. I was shown seven large volumes (corresponding to a certain mode of dividing the country, excluding Burmah, Assam, and some minor tracts) containing a vast number of entries; English abstracts or translations—longer or shorter—of vernacular reports or communications of one kind or another, all arranged according to districts (not identical with ours), sub-districts, sub-divisions, and the cities, towns, and villages included in these. The number of these entries was enormous; there were said, at the time, to be communications from over thirty thousand different reporters. I did not count them, they seemed countless; but in regard to the towns and villages of one district of the North-West Provinces with which I possess a peculiarly intimate acquaintance—a troublesome part of the country no doubt—there were nearly three hundred entries, a good number of which I could partially verify, as to the names of the people, etc." No doubt the district here referred to was Etawah, where he had been chief executive officer for many years. He mentions that t

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had the volumes in his possession only for about a week ; into six of them he only dipped ; but he closely examined one covering the greater portion of the North-West Provinces, Oudh, Behar, parts of Bundelcund and parts of the Panjab ; and as far as possible verified the entries referring to those districts with which he had special personal acquaintance. Many of the entries reported conversations between men of the lowest classes, "all going to show that these poor men were pervaded with a sense of the hopelessness of the existing state of affairs ; that they were convinced that they would starve and starve and die, and that they wanted to do *something*. . . . They were going to do *something* and stand by each other, and that something meant violence," for innumerable entries referred to the secretion of old swords, spears, and matchlocks, which would be ready when required. It was not supposed that the immediate result, in its initial stages, would be a revolt against our Government, or a revolt at all, in the proper sense of the word. What was predicted was a sudden violent outbreak of sporadic crimes, murders of obnoxious persons, robbery of bankers, looting of bazaars. "In the existing state of the lowest half-starving classes, it was considered that the first few crimes would be the signal for hundreds of similar ones, and for a general development of lawlessness, paralysing the authorities and the respectable classes. It was considered certain also, that everywhere the small bands would begin to coalesce into larger ones, like drops of water on a leaf ; that all the bad characters in the country would join, and that very soon after the bands attained formidable proportions, a certain small number of the educated classes, at the time desperately, perhaps unreasonably, bitter against Government would join the movement, assume here and there the lead, give the outbreak cohesion, and direct it as a national revolt."

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Such were the specific warnings addressed to Mr. Hume. The forecast of trouble throughout India was in exact accordance with what actually occurred, under my own observation, in the Bombay Presidency, in connection with the Agrarian rising known as the Deccan Riots. These began with sporadic gang robberies and attacks on the moneylenders, until the bands of dacoits, combining together, became too strong for the police; and the whole military force at Poona, horse, foot, and artillery, had to take the field against them. Roaming through the jungle tracts of the Western Ghauts, these bands dispersed in the presence of military force, only to reunite immediately at some convenient point; and from the hill stations of Mahableshwar and Matheran we could at night see the light of their camp fires in all directions. A leader from the more instructed class was found, calling himself Sivaji the Second, who addressed challenges to the Government, offered a reward of Rs. 500 for the head of H.E. Sir Richard Temple (then Governor of Bombay), and claimed to lead a national revolt upon the lines on which the Mahratta power had originally been founded.

Before quitting this subject one special point must be noticed, viz., Mr. Hume's belief that the reports in the seven volumes must necessarily be true, because they were the reports of *Chelas* to their *Gurus*. This point is important on the merits of the case; and it is also relevant to the present memoir, because it illustrates the bent of his mind, which induced him to study with eager interest the peculiar phases of Eastern religious thought. His explanation is as follows: "A *Chela* is a son, pupil, apprentice and disciple, all in one, and a great deal more. None of these terms give any adequate conception of the sanctity of the tie between *Chela* and *Guru*. No man becomes a true *Chela* who has not given up all worldly

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objects and finally determined to devote all his efforts, and concentrate all his hopes, in what *faute de mieux*, I may call, spiritual development. All *Chelas* are bound by vows and conditions, over and above those of ordinary initiates of low grade. No *Chela* would, I may almost say *can* deceive his *Guru*, in whom centre all his hopes of advancement ; no teacher will take on the *Chela* cast off by another. What a real *Chela* says to his *Guru* you may accept as the absolute truth, so far as the speaker is concerned. He may be mistaken, he cannot lie." Apparently some of the reporters, from being *Chelas* in their earlier years, had afterwards returned to ordinary secular life : "Many were respectable worldly men (a few of whom, in my part of the country, I actually knew), but these were all men who had gone through some initiations, and taken binding vows in earlier life, though from one cause or another they had given up the path. But the majority, I was told, were devotees, men of every sect and creed in the country, all initiates in some of the many branches of the secret knowledge, and all bound by vows, they *can* not practically break, to some farther advanced seeker than themselves, who again must obey others, and so on, until you come to the leaders who are of *no* sect and *no* religion, but of *all* sects and *all* religions." He further explains that absolute secrecy is an essential feature in the life of these devotees ; and this accounts for the fact that ordinarily even the existence of these religious sects is unknown to the best informed Europeans, and to the majority of the educated Indians themselves. It was only under the stress of peculiar circumstances, and to avert calamity, that the leaders opened communications with Mr. Hume, although he always refused to come under their special pledges. His attitude of co-operation was thus defined : "I have promised always to do what I am asked, when



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the thing to be done involves, so far as I can judge, no moral wrong, and never to give out, without permission, anything I have been informed of or shown, unless it should appear to me a distinct moral duty not to hold my tongue."

### *V. The Propaganda in England.*

We have now to shift the scene from East to West. For the great scheme to which Mr. Hume had set his hand consisted, as regards its political side, of two parts, each complete in itself, neither effective without the other. There was essential work to be done in India; and there was essential work to be done in England. In India, a programme of reforms was being matured; in England, that programme had to be pressed on the attention of Parliament and the public. For Mr. Hume was firmly convinced that the British people desired fair play for India, and would see that justice was done, provided only they understood the merits of the case. No doubt the original connection of England with India was purely self-seeking. But gradually there came an awakening of the national conscience, and the sentiment of duty in the performance of a national trust. India, therefore, helpless in official bonds, should make known her grievances to her big brother, the all-controlling Demos of the British Isles; but in order to obtain relief, it was necessary that she should raise her voice in tones loud enough to rouse the friendly but slumberous giant.

These were the views held by Mr. Hume; and he called on Indian reformers to make a strenuous effort to induce the British public to shake off the torpor of an ignorant optimism, and to restore the continuity with the best traditions of British statesmanship, as declared

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by such leaders as Edmund Burke, Lord Macaulay, and John Bright: the policy embodied in the wise Statute of 1833, and the noble Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858.

. It will be remembered that in 1885, the first year of the Congress, Mr. Hume paid a visit to this country, and in consultation with Parliamentary friends, sketched out a plan of campaign for the propaganda in England. We have now to see what action was taken in this direction. At first he cherished the hope that some concessions might, by the force of persuasion, be obtained in India from the Viceroy in Council, but when year after year passed away without any response to the Congress prayer, he became convinced that no reform of any value could be expected from the official hierarchy at Simla, and that it was from England that the impulse must come, if any satisfaction was to be obtained for Indian aspirations. Accordingly in a letter, dated 10th February 1889 from Calcutta, he pressed upon Congress workers the vital need for the British propaganda on an adequate scale. He pointed out that in India the work of the Congress in consolidating public opinion had been in great measure accomplished, and that, broadly speaking, all Indian progressives were agreed as to the proper remedies for Indian grievances and disabilities, but "our European officials—who are here all-powerful—in consequence of service traditions and bureaucratic bias, as a body deny utterly the justice of our contentions, and are not to be convinced by anything that *we* can ever possibly say. We impute no blame to them for this—it is only natural—for the tendency of all the reforms we advocate is to curtail the virtually autocratic powers now exercised by these officials, and unless they were more than human they must necessarily be antagonistic to our programme. Giving all due credit to our European officials, and

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acknowledging their many merits, nothing nevertheless is more certain than that, so long as we confine our reclamations to their ears, we shall never secure those important reforms that *we* all know to have now become essential, not only to our own welfare but to the auspicious continuance of British rule in India. . . . Our only hope lies in awakening the British public to a sense of the wrongs of our people—to a consciousness of the unwisdom and injustice of the present administration. The least that we could do would be to provide ample funds—for sending and keeping constantly in England deputations of our ablest speakers to plead their country's cause—to enable our British Committee to keep up an unbroken series of public meetings, whereat the true state of affairs in India might be expounded—to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, and magazine articles—in a word to carry on an agitation there, on the lines and scale of that in virtue of which the Anti-Corn-Law League triumphed." Would that India had followed this wise leadership! A frontal attack on bureaucratic power, firmly entrenched at Simla—with all the armoury of repression at its command—was hopeless. But success was within reach, by means of a flanking movement, that is, by an appeal to the British elector; for the elector's vote gives office to the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister nominates the Secretary of State, to whom the Viceroy in Council, with all the official hosts, is subordinate. Unfortunately the party of progress in India have never properly realized the practical advantage of this method, and in succeeding years have brought upon themselves endless woes by futile resistance in India to irresistible force, while neglecting to conduct effectively in England the operations which, with a moderate expenditure of labour and of money, would have secured to them a painless victory.

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### *The British Committee of the Indian National Congress.*

The first steps towards a Congress organization in England were taken in 1887, when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, then residing in London, volunteered to act as Agent for the Congress; but he was not supplied with funds, and being engaged in business, he could only spare a small portion of his time, so that practically little was done. But in 1888 an important move forward was made, when Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee and Eardley Norton joined Mr. Dadabhai in England, and succeeded in enlisting for their cause the great democratic champion, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh M.P. Further, a paid Agency was established under Mr. W. Digby C.I.E.; offices were taken at 25 Craven Street, Strand; and a vigorous campaign was carried out in the country. Ten thousand copies of the Report of the third Congress, and many thousand copies of speeches and pamphlets were printed and circulated; while Messrs. Bonnerjee and Norton, in connection with the Agency, addressed a number of public meetings, and Mr. Bradlaugh delivered many lectures on Indian questions in different parts of England. All this Mr. Bradlaugh did gratuitously, solely in the interests of India, but of course the Agency had to pay for the public halls, advertisements, and other incidental expenses. During the seven months of this work about £1700 were spent. For the current year 1889 the expenditure was estimated at £2500, and this amount Mr. Hume called upon India to provide. Concluding his note, he wrote, "In order first to guide the operations of this Agency, and second to check its accounts and audit them in England before they are sent out to us, a strong Committee of influential gentlemen is now being formed in London. Later I shall be able to report more fully on this matter; at present I am only in a position to say that Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. Bradlaugh

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will certainly be upon it, and that it will include others of the most prominent and trusted of our friends in England."

Action was taken in accordance with the above scheme, and the required Committee was formed on the 27th July 1889. It consisted of Sir W. Wedderburn (chairman), Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. S. Caine M.P., and Mr. W. S. Bright McLaren M.P., with Mr. W. Digby as secretary, and subsequently the Committee was joined by Mr. John Ellis M.P., Mr. George Yule, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Sir Charles Schwann M.P., Sir Herbert Roberts M.P., Dr. G. B. Clark, and Mr. Martin Wood. The constitution of this Committee was confirmed by a Resolution of the Congress of 1889, and Rs. 45,000 were voted for its maintenance, the amount to be raised by a proportional contribution from each of the Provincial Congress Committees. The title finally adopted was, "The British Committee of the Indian National Congress." In September 1892 Mr. Digby resigned the secretaryship, and the office was removed to Nos. 84 and 85 Palace Chambers, Westminster, a very convenient locality opposite the Houses of Parliament; and these rooms, suitably furnished, the walls hung with portraits of Congress worthies, and with an Indian library contributed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other friends, became the permanent centre of operations for the Congress propaganda in England.

It has been the practice to elect, as temporary members of the Committee, any leading Congress supporters who happen to be on a visit to England. This brings the Committee into touch with the most recent developments in India, and adds much strength to its position, as will be understood from the list of these temporary members, which has included such names as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranáth Banerjea, Mr. Subramania Iyer, Mr. Mudholkar, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. D. E. Wacha,

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Mr. Romesh Dutt, Mr. H. A. Wadia, Mr. H. N. Haridas, Mr. A. Chaudhuri, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and Mr. Bhupendra-náth Básu. On account of his long absences in India, it was not till the 6th of May 1890 that Mr. Hume was himself able to join as a member, and for the first time to attend a meeting of the Committee.

As a Congress leader, and as an early member of the British Committee, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee stood pre-eminent, combining wise counsels with steady perseverance and ungrudging liberality. His lamented death occurred on the 21st of July 1906, and Mr. Hume writing of him as "one of the best and truest friends" he ever had, thus described his work for India : "From the very outset, he had thrown in his lot, unhesitatingly, with the Congress movement of which he was one of the originators, and from early in 1885 up to this his lamented decease, he adhered to and supported that movement, alike through good and evil report, giving it all the strength of his high character and position, great abilities and widespread influence. Probably no other Indian gentleman of modern times ever exercised so great an influence over his countrymen at large—not merely in Bengal, but throughout India—as did Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who from the first day that he put his hand to the plough of Reform very early in 1885, never grudged his time, his talents or his money, whenever and wherever he saw, or thought he saw, that the cause of India's people might be in any degree aided or promoted by any or all of these."

As time went on, changes occurred in the permanent membership of the Committee. Early colleagues dropped out, and new friends were added. In 1903 there came an important accession of strength when Sir Henry Cotton K.C.S.I. joined the Committee, and from time to time other sympathetic Parliamentarians were added,

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including Mr. Alfred Webb M.P., Mr. Hart Davies M.P., Mr. C. J. O'Donnell M.P., Dr. Rutherford M.P., Mr. Mackarness M.P., Mr. Philip Morrell M.P., Mr. O'Grady M.P. (as representing the Labour Party), and Mr. A. M. Scott M.P. Some of those who co-operated most actively with the Committee, such as Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Samuel Smith, preferred not to join, on the ground that they would be able to work more effectively in the House of Commons for India without being members of an outside Committee.

Now as regards the success of the work undertaken by the British Committee, it must be borne in mind that the chief difficulty in England for those seeking justice to India, arises from the antagonism of the India Office, where the Council of the Secretary of State has always been the stronghold of reactionary officialdom. As Mr. Hume put it, the India Office is "an organization perpetually employed in popularizing the official view of all Indian questions," and if Indian grievances are to be remedied, this hostile influence must be met—in Parliament, on the Platform, and in the Press—by "an organization equally persistent and strenuous in disseminating the people's view of these same questions." This therefore was the task before Mr. Hume and his friends ; and they sought to fulfil each of these duties—as regards Parliament, by organizing an Indian Parliamentary Committee ; as regards the Platform, by arranging public meetings throughout the country ; and as regards the Press, by founding the journal *India* as an organ of Congress views. Each of these enterprizes must here be described a little in detail.

### *The Indian Parliamentary Committee.*

It is in Parliament that vital issues are decided ; and as few Indian readers are familiar with the technicalities

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of Parliamentary methods, it seems necessary to explain the difficulties which an independent member desiring reform has to encounter, and to show how completely, as regards India, official influences are dominant in the House of Commons; also it is important to understand that things have gone from bad to worse since 1858, when the direct administration of India was assumed by the Crown. In theory, the Secretary of State in Council is supposed to be the servant of the House of Commons; and in theory, he is supposed to occupy a position of judicial impartiality, as the Court of Appeal for Indian grievances. But neither of these suppositions has any foundation in fact. In point of fact, no matter which Party is in power, the Secretary of State, as a member of the Government commanding a Parliamentary majority, is not the servant but, in Indian matters, the master of the House of Commons; and in dealing with the independent member who questions authority, he does not even affect impartiality, but comes before the House as the indignant apologist of the Department for which he is responsible. Also, he is free to treat the troublesome member with scant courtesy, because his salary is drawn by himself direct from the Indian Treasury, and no inconvenient motion can be brought forward for a reduction on the estimates. Further, as noted above, the Parliamentary situation has materially deteriorated since the days of the old East India Company, because the House of Commons regarded the Company with a wholesome jealousy, as being a privileged monopoly; and since the privileges were granted for a period of only twenty years, a searching enquiry into the whole system of administration was on each occasion carried out before the charter was renewed. Now this is all changed. The wholesome jealousy is dissipated; and for more than half a century there has been no



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periodical enquiry, such as was before provided automatically, no account of stewardship, no day of reckoning for official delinquencies. To complete the picture, one more point must be noticed. In other departments of the administration, an independent member seeking redress of grievances, gets ready support from the Front Opposition Bench. But this is not so in the case of a Radical daring to voice India's complaint of destitution, famine, and pestilence. Him a Tory Secretary of State denounces for his malignant, though unaccountable, want of patriotism, while the ex-Minister, emerging from his retirement on the Liberal benches, re-echoes these sentiments, praises his own past administration, and proclaims "the unspeakable blessings of British rule." With a few honourable exceptions, the London Press follows suit, finding subject for amusement when the House empties itself, as soon as it is a question of India's suffering, not seeing any shame in this shameful disregard of national duty.

To stem this tide of official optimism, and get a hearing for India's complaint, is beyond the power of a private member, unless endowed with the personality and authority of a Bright, a Fawcett, or a Bradlaugh. The only hope is in combination; and fortunately in the House of Commons there has never been wanting an element of independence and love of fair play, if only it can be reached and made available. Acting therefore on the lines indicated in Mr. Hume's letter of 5th September 1885 (*v. p.* 55), steps were taken during the Session of 1893 to establish an "Indian Parliamentary Committee," not committed to any particular measures, but pledged to attend to Indian interests, and to see that justice was done. The earlier movements in the same direction are interesting, and may be noted here. Under the name of the "India Reform Society," an

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organization was founded in 1853, mainly through the exertions of Mr. John Dickinson, for the purpose of promoting combined and well-directed action among the friends of India. At that time the Charter of the East India Company was about to expire, viz., on the 30th of April 1854, and the immediate object of the Society was to secure that the customary enquiry by Parliament, previous to the renewal of the Charter, should be full and impartial. By means of the facts thus collected, and supplied to him through Mr. John Dickinson, Mr. Bright was enabled to make the noble speeches on India, which led to the issue of Queen Victoria's memorable Proclamation in 1858, and did so much to determine the wise and humane policy under Lord Canning, which followed the Indian Mutiny. In 1883 Mr. John Bright approved the formation of an informal Indian Committee, having for its object to secure combined Parliamentary action. Some fifty names were obtained of Members of Parliament, willing to co-operate on the broad ground of a just and sympathetic policy towards India; and it was arranged that out of these an Executive Committee of five or six should be formed. Of this Executive Committee, Mr. Bright consented to act as Chairman. Supported by this Committee, Mr. John Slagg, Senior Member for Manchester, in 1885, moved for a full Parliamentary enquiry into Indian administration. He secured a place for his motion to enquire into the Government of India Act of 1858, and Lord Randolph Churchill agreed to second it. But, unfortunately, a change of Government prevented the motion coming on, and the opportunity was lost.

The Committee of 1883, which has fallen into abeyance, was revived on the 27th of July 1893, when Sir W. Wedderburn and Mr. Caine invited a few leading independent members to dine with them at the House of

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Commons, in order to discuss Indian affairs. On that occasion Sir W. Wedderburn, after briefly explaining the situation, moved the following Resolution: "That it is desirable to form an Indian Parliamentary Committee for the purpose of promoting combined and well-directed action among those interested in Indian affairs." This Resolution was seconded by Mr. Caine, supported by Mr. John E. Ellis, and carried unanimously. Mr. Jacob Bright then moved, "That the following members form the Indian Parliamentary Committee, with power to add to their number." The names, which included all those present, were the following: Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Caine, Mr. John E. Ellis, Dr. W. A. Hunter, Mr. Illingworth, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Walter B. McLaren, Mr. Swift MacNeill, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Herbert Paul, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, Mr. R. T. Reid, Mr. Samuel Smith, Mr. C. E. Schwann, Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. Alfred Webb, and Sir W. Wedderburn. This motion was seconded by Mr. Illingworth, and supported by Mr. Samuel Smith, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Swift MacNeill, and Mr. Schwann, and was carried unanimously. On the motion of Mr. Caine, seconded by Mr. S. Smith, Sir W. Wedderburn was appointed Chairman, and Mr. J. Herbert Roberts Secretary of the Committee. From time to time new members joined, so that at the close of the Session the Indian Parliamentary Committee comprised no fewer than 154 members of the House of Commons, a formidable body from a Parliamentary point of view. From among these the following were elected to form a Working Committee: Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, Mr. D. Naoroji, Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Secretary), Mr. C. E. Schwann, Mr. S. Smith, Mr. A. Webb, Sir W. Wedderburn (Chairman), and Mr. H. J. Wilson.

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At this time the financial condition of India was very critical. The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, described the situation in the following terms : "To leave matters as they are means for the Government of India hopeless financial confusion ; . . . for the taxpayers of India the prospect of heavy and unpopular burdens ; and for the country as a whole a fatal and stunting arrest of its development." Under these circumstances, a letter (dated 1st July 1894) was addressed, on behalf of the Committee, to Mr. Henry Fowler, then Secretary of State for India, containing a searching criticism of Mr. Westland's Budget ; and the subsequent proceedings in the House of Commons, followed by the debate on the Indian Budget, resulted in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's motion for a Parliamentary enquiry, which wrung from Mr. Fowler the appointment of the Welby Royal Commission on Indian expenditure and the apportionment of charge between India and the United Kingdom.

At the elections during the ten succeeding years of Tory domination the Indian Parliamentary Committee lost many of its most active members. But at last the wave of reaction spent its force ; the tide turned ; and at the General Election of January 1906 the Tory Government was wrecked, and power came into the hands of the most democratic Government, and the most democratic House of Commons, that had existed since the Reform Act of 1832. With a House of Commons so favourably constituted, no time was lost in reviving the Indian Parliamentary Committee. At the invitation of Sir W. Wedderburn, a company of Members of Parliament and others interested in Indian affairs, met at breakfast on February 28th 1906, at the Westminster Palace Hotel ; and afterwards a Conference was held "with a view to reconstitute the Indian Parliamentary Committee, and generally to consider what action may

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any hope of success the grievances of India must be forced on the attention of the British public, and this is the duty imposed on the British Committee. Under the circumstances no source of political influence can with safety be neglected. And accordingly, from week to week, by a free distribution of the journal *India* to Members of Parliament, journalists, political associations, clubs, and reading-rooms, the Committee have placed before the British public the case of India, her needs and grievances. But for want of funds this work has been carried out with increasing difficulty. Rigid economy had to be exercised, preventing various desirable developments, and with their scanty resources the Committee could not have obtained the services of editors possessing such exceptional qualifications as Mr. Gordon Hewart and Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, had not these gentlemen been influenced by their warm sympathy with the cause. The matter is of extreme importance, and it will be necessary to urge the Congress to make suitable and permanent provision for its propaganda work in England. This should be done by forming a permanent propaganda fund, and by securing in London the continued presence of responsible Indian exponents of Congress views.

### *Public Meetings, Addresses, and Interviews.*

There remains to be considered what can be effected by public speech and personal persuasion. This work has been done in past years by public meetings and lectures, by addresses to associations and other select audiences, by social entertainments, and by interviews with Ministers, Members of Parliament, editors, and other public men. In this work the best results were obtained when accredited Congress leaders, like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranāth Banerjea, Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Bhupen-

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dranāth Bāsu came to speak at first hand on behalf of their fellow-countrymen. To show the nature of the work, a brief description may be given of the campaigns carried out by Mr. Gokhale in 1905 and 1906. In 1905 four Delegates from India were expected, and the British Committee arranged for some fifty meetings at important centres all over the country. Only two Delegates, Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Lajpat Rai, were able to come; and much of Mr. Lajpat Rai's time was taken up by a visit to America, where he addressed meetings at New York, Boston, and Chicago. But Mr. Gokhale's campaign in Yorkshire and Lancashire was a brilliant success. His visit to Lancashire, under the auspices of Sir Charles Schwann and Mr. Samuel Smith, was specially opportune, with reference to the Partition of Bengal, and the boycott of Manchester goods. At Manchester he addressed four most important meetings, (1) the Federated Trades Councils, (2) the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, (3) a meeting of merchants connected with Indian trade, and (4) the Manchester Liberal Association. At each of these meetings he made a different speech, in each case specially adapted to the requirements of his audience. The Chairman of the British Committee, who accompanied him, can bear witness to the profound impression produced on his hearers by the accuracy of his information and the cogency of his arguments. Good meetings were also held in London, and he had a gratifying reception by the undergraduates of the "Union" at Cambridge, where his motion in favour of more popular institutions for India was carried by 161 to 62. The Fabian Society also held a special meeting to hear an address from him. At this time a Conservative Government was in power, and gave its support to Lord Curzon's reactionary and repressive policy. Mr. Gokhale's main duty therefore in 1905 was

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to arouse public opinion in this country by means of the Platform and the Press. In 1906, after presiding at the Benares Congress, he returned to England as the accredited representative of the Congress. But the situation had much changed in the meantime. Our political friends were in power ; so that to address public meetings was a secondary matter ; and his main object was to come into touch with, and inform, Ministers and Members of Parliament, upon whom the future of India mainly depended. For this purpose he not only addressed meetings of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, but also personally interviewed about 150 members of the House of Commons, and secured from them promises of active interest in Indian affairs. As regards interviews with Ministers, the most important were naturally those he had with Mr. Morley, who accorded to him a series of long interviews, in which he was able to place fully before the newly appointed Secretary of State the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. Mr. Ellis, the Under Secretary for India, who was an original member of the British Committee, also had cordial interviews with Mr. Gokhale, and invited him to a breakfast party, where he and other Parliamentary friends expressed their sympathy. Finally the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, accorded him an interview, and gave him a most kindly hearing.

### *Support of the Propaganda.*

These particulars of the propaganda in England, as regards Parliament, the Press, and the Platform, have been set forth in some detail for a specific purpose, viz., to impress on the Indian public the very precarious position of Indian interests, and the absolute need of an organization in England, well-informed, vigilant, and

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with resources sufficient to take effective action whenever a crisis occurs. At present in England the friends of progress are in power. For a time the sea is calm, and the wind is fair. But who can tell how long this will last? Is any one so simple as to suppose that the Imperialistic Party is dead, because for the moment it is "hushed in grim repose"? Owing to the complications of home and foreign affairs, the fate of all Ministries in this country hangs on a thread. Sooner or later there must be a change; and power will come into the hands of those out of sympathy with Indian aspirations. Surely the people of India have not already forgotten what they suffered under the Party of retrogression, of race and class prejudice, of aggression abroad and repression at home! Are they content to await passively the repetition of the same experiences? What the Indian people have to realize is, that *action in favour of Indian aspirations does not spring spontaneously from the ordinary operation of British institutions, but has ever been the result of persistent and laborious personal effort on the part of outside reformers working, both in India and England, on the lines indicated by Mr. Hume.* If from time to time an advance has been achieved, it is due to the sympathy of the British democracy, acting under the propulsion of independent reformers. No reform has ever been initiated by the leaders of the Indian bureaucracy. On the contrary, the class interests which hold the lever of power at Simla and at the India Office, are continuously working to strengthen the official position. Not only have they always done their best to prevent new concessions, but when opportunity has offered, they have taken away the privileges inherited from a former generation of reformers—the liberty of the Press, the right of public meeting, municipal self-government, the independence of the Universities. These ill-starred measures of reaction, combined



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with Russian methods of police repression, brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak ; and it was only just in time that Mr. Hume and his Indian advisers were inspired to intervene. Through their devoted efforts the gulf between the rulers and the ruled was bridged over by the Congress structure, which bore the strain of Imperialism for seven years under Lord Curzon, and made straight the paths for Lord Morley's reforms of 1909, and the Royal Declarations of 1911. Let any thoughtful Indian reflect what fatal developments, much more serious than sporadic outrages, must have followed from popular despair if, during those years, the controlling influence of the Congress had not existed in India, and if, after the Liberal victory at the polls, a duly authorized statement of grievances, and of needed reforms, had not been systematically pressed upon responsible statesmen in England. From the past learn the future ; and let the people of India be assured that disaster will follow, and follow (not undeservedly) from their own default, if effort is relaxed, if the organization in England, built up so painfully, is allowed to go to pieces, and if the results of twenty-five years of labour are thrown away.

### A PROPOSED MEMORIAL.

We learn from India that influential friends in different parts of the country desire to raise a memorial to Mr. Hume ; and it seems very appropriate that such a movement should be initiated, as it has been, in the United Provinces, in which he worked for many years, and where he was so well known and so well beloved. May I venture to make an appeal with regard to the form of the memorial, and to remind his friends of the views expressed by him in a circular letter which he addressed

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to Congress workers on the 16th of February 1892, regarding a proposed memorial to Pandit Ajudhia Náth ? As is well known, there was no one for whom he had a more sincere personal regard than Pandit Ajudhia Náth, but in this letter he wrote, "For God's sake waste no money on memorials or any other minor enterprise ; give every farthing you can spare to the general cause." The purpose for which he claimed the money was for propaganda in this country : "Our only hope," he wrote, "lies in awakening the British public to a sense of the wrongs of our people." What then is my suggestion ? It is this : Mr. Hume's dearest wish was for the emancipation of India, and he held that this could be secured only by an insistent appeal to the British people. The best memorial therefore to the faithful friend who has now passed away would be an "Allan Hume Memorial Fund," having for its object to perpetuate his work, and prevent the destruction of his dearest hopes.

### "FAREWELL TO INDIA."

In 1894 he bade farewell to India, and on the 18th of March of that year an address expressing affection and gratitude was presented to him by the Bombay Presidency Association, signed with the honoured names of Pherozechah Mehta, President, and Dinsha Edalji Wacha, N. G. Chandavarkar, and A. M. Dharamsi, Honorary Secretaries. Replying to this address, Mr. Hume gave a forecast of world politics, as affecting India : at that time the forces of militarism and reaction in every country seemed to be gaining strength ; in England the party opposed to Indian aspirations would probably come into power ; a great European war was possible, with the most disastrous consequences. There were black clouds darkening the horizon ; and Mr.

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Hume exhorted his hearers to be courageous and steadfast : " Let nothing discourage you," he said, " hold fast to that conviction which all the best and wisest share : that right must, and ever does triumph in the end, and that nations have only to deserve, to secure all that they aspire to. Checks to progress *may* come—alas, I fear, *must* come—as I have warned you, and many years may pass during which apparently you gain no single inch—nay, it may be, even lose ground ; but throughout it all work on dauntlessly, preparing for the good time assuredly coming—work on ceaselessly, and India shall one day reap a glorious harvest of your labours. Let nothing—no temporary checks, no temporary losses—dishearten you. The spirit of the age is behind you, and win you must before the end comes. . . . No matter how impossible immediate progress may, owing to the tyranny of circumstances, appear, you are bound as true men to hammer on—hammer, hammer, hammer—never relaxing your efforts, and so gradually acquiring that habit of unwavering persistence that as a nation you so sadly lack. You can work at high pressure for a week, but to run at low pressure, uniformly and unwearyingly for a year, is beyond most of you ; and yet this power of sustained continuous exertion is the very first requisite for political success, and if these anticipated checks only teach you this, they will prove not misfortunes but blessings in disguise." If unhappily a great European war broke out, and England was involved, he adjured them to give united and ungrudging support to the British people, who with all their defects were " a noble nation, that has ever sounded the advance to all the listening peoples of the world along the paths of freedom—the nation to which you owe most of what you now most highly prize " : they should " rally as one man to the side of those little isles which have been justly

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designated Freedom's last stronghold—Freedom's keep ! Yes, in the nobler sense of the words, a great war will be India's opportunity—opportunity for proving that in periods of peace she clamours—at times somewhat angrily—for equal civil rights, in the hour of *war* she is ever ready and anxious to accept equal military risks." After this stirring appeal, which was greeted with "prolonged applause," Mr. Hume turned from politics to social admonition, urging his hearers to raise the general level, physical, mental, and moral, of the people, in order that India might become great, and free, and happy. For while, with the boldness of a Hebrew prophet, Mr. Hume rebuked the rulers, no less faithfully did he deliver his message to the people, warning them against the sins which most easily beset them. This he did from a compelling sense of duty, speaking "as a father parting for ever from his children that he loves, and whose future he fears for." "I am an old man," he said, "I have lived my life amongst you, and perhaps know as much of India as a whole as any one living ; but for all that I do not pretend to dogmatize—I only tell you what I who love you believe to be essential to your ultimate success." First, he warned them—you must reform your marriage laws ; you must prevent the marriage of immature persons ; racial degeneracy is the inevitable consequence of such marriages. You must have the sound body for the sound mind : "Herein lies the first foundation-stone of that national greatness which we fondly hope will hereafter clothe, as with a robe of glory, old India and her regenerated sons." Secondly, you must educate the boys of the whole nation—and also the girls : "Assuredly there is no greater, grander, or more glorious work before you than the reinstatement of India's women on the exalted pedestal which is their due, and which your wiser forefathers, thousands of years ago,

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when India was great and glorious, accorded to them." Finally, with reluctance, he touched on two moral shortcomings, sadly prevalent : no adequate conception of the sanctity of the spoken word ; and jealousy among fellow-workers—feelings which prevent effectual combination in the national cause. I would ask the attention of Indian friends to the full text of what Mr. Hume said on this occasion with regard to these shortcomings. The faults referred to are not of a heinous order ; but, with fatherly anxiety, he spoke strongly regarding them, because he believed that such defects seriously barred the progress of those whom he regarded as his children.

### SOCIAL REFORM.

But while thus strenuous in his admonition with regard to defects which he specially deprecated, he did not lose sight of the general conditions essential to national progress in India, among a people with customs and traditions originating from an ancient civilization, though modified by foreign aggressions, and by the influences of modern thought. His attitude was judicial ; and he recognized that any specific social reform was only one portion of the great work which sought the regeneration of India on all lines, spiritual, social, political, and economic. With the foresight of the experienced organizer he pointed out that success could only be achieved if all reformers—however diverse their specific objects—worked in combination, with a due sense of proportion, and a reasonable regard for existing conditions. These views are set forth in a letter which was published in the *Indian Spectator* of the 1st of February 1885. It is entitled "A letter to Mr. Behramji M. Malabari on the subject of his notes upon Infant Marriages and Enforced Widowhood, and

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generally on the present prospects and methods of National Progress"; and is so important, both as illustrating Mr. Hume's attitude of mind towards social problems, and as indicating the practical course of action which he favoured, that I have reproduced it *in extenso* as Appendix II. To supplement the views therein stated, another letter is added, Appendix III, regarding the resolution passed by Lord Dufferin's Government with reference to Mr. Malabari's demands for social legislation. In this letter he pointed out that Lord Dufferin's objections to legislate were not unreasonable; and that so long as the Viceroy had virtually only European colleagues as advisers, the Government, however sympathetic it might be, was not in a position to pass measures on such intricate social matters. It is neither good for the commonalty, nor safe for the Government, that foreigners should deal with questions affecting so closely the innermost domestic life of the people. "But," as pointed out by Mr. Hume, "as soon as we have a strong independent representative element in all our Councils, the situation will be altogether changed." Now, happily, under Lord Morley's reforms, a move has been made in the right direction; a representative element has been introduced into the Legislative Councils; and already the independent members have put their hands to the plough. By supporting Mr. Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory elementary education, they have sought to prepare the soil in which good seed may be sown. Looking to the views expressed by Lord Dufferin, it is an irony of fate that the opposition to the Bill comes from the headquarters of the official camp. The excuse put forward is that the measure is unpopular. But of this there is no evidence whatever. No popular protest has been forthcoming, as was so emphatically the case when

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some time after his retirement from official work in India, Mr. Hume settled in Dulwich and at once threw himself into the work of educating and organizing the constituency with all the force and vigour of his powerful intellect. Mr. Hume was a Radical intensely in earnest, who believed that his time, his wealth, and all his powers were given him in trust for his fellow-creatures.

"The year 1891 saw Mr. Hume hard at work in the constituency. He was elected president of the Dulwich Reform Club, vice-president of the Dulwich and Penge Liberal and Radical Association, and a member of the Executive Council of the Association. During the election of 1892 he acted as the Chairman of the Election Committee for Mr. Arthur Clayden. Sir John Blundell Maple, who had succeeded Mr. Morgan Howard in 1887, was again successful. As might be expected, this defeat only stimulated Mr. Hume's efforts. At the beginning of 1894 he was elected President of the Liberal Association, and held the office till he passed away.

"For many years Mr. Hume was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Association and presided over the meetings of the Executive Council. With the wonderful charm of his magnetic personality he inspired the oft-defeated Liberals with some of his own intense faith in Liberal principles and their ultimate triumph. A profound believer in the reign of law instead of force, of arbitration instead of war, intensely in earnest in giving to the poorest the advantages of education, equality of opportunity for all was with him a passion. All the movements of the day for the improvement of the lot of the poor of our great city found in him a strong supporter. The progressive policy in London and the country was to him the inseparable outcome of the radical changes which he so ardently desired to

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see in the laws of the country. The abolition of the Veto of the House of Lords was the absolutely indispensable preliminary to Radical measures which he urged again and again. Except the Lords were ended or mended he held that the reform of the land laws, equitable taxation, equality before the legal tribunals, electoral equality, one man one vote, Home Rule for Ireland or India, the abolition of the caste spirit in the Army and Navy and in the Civil Service would never be accomplished: that the Lords' Veto condemned the Liberal Party to a perpetual ploughing of the sands; that till the Liberal Party could pass its measures when in office the work of earnest men to improve the condition of the masses would be in vain. In this spirit Mr. Hume continued the work of organizing the forces of progress in Dulwich.

"On the death of Sir John Blundell Maple in 1903, Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, now the Under-Secretary for the Home Office, contested the division. This was a short, sharp fight, into which Mr. Hume threw himself with characteristic energy. The Conservatives, however, retained the seat. Shortly after, Mr. David Williamson was selected as the Liberal candidate. Mr. Hume took part with him in the most active and vigorous campaign which the constituency had seen. Meetings, indoors and out of doors, were held at frequent intervals. A systematic canvass of the division was made, in which Mr. Hume took a large share of the work of speaking and interviewing. At the General Election in January 1906, Mr. Williamson was defeated by 357 votes only, a result largely due to Mr. Hume's long-continued and inspiring work.

"Perhaps one of Mr. Hume's greatest gifts was his great power of securing the enthusiastic and harmonious co-operation of all classes of Liberal workers. Discord was



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Mr. Hume, and after some demur at the labour which it would entail, and because neither he nor I would live to complete it, he consented to my starting it in the spring of 1904. The herbarium now contains mounted seedlings, taken at progressive stages, of 1200 species, representing 385 genera and 64 natural orders. As a collection, so far as we know, it is unique in Europe, and it is being added to every year as seeds can be obtained. The addition of horticulture to my herbarium and clerical work rendered it necessary to obtain additional assistance in mounting plants and cataloguing, and when the herbarium and library were removed from Mr. Hume's residence we were employing four young women in pressing, mounting, and clerical work, and a youth as assistant in horticultural work.

"During the summer of 1904 Mr. Hume made frequent short excursions into Kent, Surrey, Sussex, etc., to collect species in which the herbarium was deficient. In 1905 he collected plants in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and South Wales from April until May, and in North Wales, in company with Mr. C. P. Hurst, one of the most active of English field-botanists, from June to October. In 1906 he was at Folkestone in August and September, and collected largely in that part of Kent. In 1907 he made Eastbourne his headquarters during August and September, and did much field-work in company with the late Mr. T. Hilton, of Brighton. In 1908 he only left home during the month of September, when he went again to Folkestone. In 1909 and 1910 he was at Eastbourne during August and September, and made many excursions for collecting Sussex plants, frequently in company with Mr. Hilton.

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## *A Gift to South London.*

"In 1910 Mr. Hume purchased the freehold premises, No. 323 Norwood Road, S.E., and adapted them for the reception of his herbarium and library, and the garden fitted for growing the remaining alien plants required for the herbarium. The whole establishment was removed there in November of that year, and the freehold premises, with the herbarium, library, and all appliances and furniture, and a capital endowment to provide an income sufficient to maintain the establishment, were vested in trustees and incorporated under the title of 'The South London Botanical Institute,' with the object, as stated in the registered articles of association, of 'promoting, encouraging, and facilitating, amongst the residents of South London, the study of the science of botany.'

"Mr. Hume had strong objections to advertising, and more especially to advertise his own bounty; and for that reason would have no public opening of the institute, but he somewhat reluctantly consented to the issue of a prospectus to natural history and kindred societies informing them that the herbarium and library were available for the use of their members gratis. When I first became Mr. Hume's assistant he impressed upon me the fact that, as a rule, the preparation of plants for herbarium specimens was done in an inartistic and sometimes slovenly manner, whereas there was no reason why every sheet should not be made to look like a picture. He instructed me in his own painstaking method of laying out and pressing specimens, which I have adopted and passed on to the members of our staff who now perform the work. The following incident illustrates the result. With Mr. Hume's full approbation I have for several years exhibited a selection of our specimens

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favourable judgments on their own past achievements, and those of their friends.

### THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

#### *Decentralization in India.*

Such is the condition of affairs with which Indian reformers have to deal. A great opportunity is afforded by the appointment of the Royal Commission on the public service ; and it is hoped that Congress leaders will make the most of the occasion, tracing the defects of the present system, and placing before the Commission a well-considered scheme, showing the changes needed to make the Indian administration conformable to the best interests of the Indian people. Decentralization on a popular basis is the cardinal principle for the reform of the public service, and Lord Ripon's policy of local self-government should be carried out to its legitimate conclusions. Over-centralization must therefore be attacked in all its ramifications, as it affects the village and district organizations on the one hand, and as it affects the supreme Executive on the other. Fortunately the evils of the present system have already been recognized emphatically by the highest authorities ; and in 1909 Lord Morley appointed a Royal Commission to examine into the "great mischief of over-centralization," and to enquire how "this great mischief might be alleviated." The reference was admirable, and excellent results would have followed, if the Commission had possessed the element of judicial impartiality. But in the composition of the Commission there was no such element. A grievous mistake was made in the selection of the Commissioners, all of whom belonged to the class directly interested in maintaining the existing system.

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Of the six members of the Commission only one was an Indian, Mr. Romesh Dutt, while all, including the chairman, were of the official class. Independent Indian opinion was therefore wholly unrepresented. And this initial defect was aggravated by the fact that the three Anglo-Indian civilians, who constituted half the Commission, belonged to the class of headquarters officials who are little in touch with the people, whose views generally differ from those of the rank and file of the service, and who are mainly responsible for the existing over-centralization.

As might have been expected, the Commission was a failure. Nothing was done to promote local self-government on a popular basis ; on the contrary, some of the recommendations in the report were of a retrogressive character ; and the great mischief recognized by Lord Morley remained without alleviation. But though its conclusions were impotent, the Commission recorded some valuable evidence of Indian witnesses, notably that given by Mr. Gokhale on behalf of the Bombay Presidency Association. Mr. Gokhale showed that local self-government must be built up on the natural foundation of the village community ; and, as in old times, the "Pancháyat," or village council, should have the management of all matters pertaining exclusively to the village. As regards the district administration, the chief proposal was to strengthen the position of the District Officer by giving him a small District Council, partly elective and partly nominated, which he would be bound to consult on all important occasions. Large additional powers might be delegated to him, provided these powers were exercised in association with his Council, so that ordinary questions of administration would be disposed of promptly on the spot, without unnecessary reference to higher authorities. If such additional resources had been

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at the disposal of Mr. Hume as a District Officer, the lot of Etawah under his administration would have been indeed a happy one.

These are the lines upon which reform should proceed with regard to local self-government. But while dealing with specific grievances, regard must be had to the larger responsibilities belonging to the new era which has been opened out for the Indian people by Lord Morley's reforms, and by the Delhi declarations of King George. The existing system, under which a few hundred foreign officials govern autocratically a population of 250 millions, is obsolete. A very material change must be made in the official fabric ; the edifice requires to be remodelled from the foundations to the roof, from the village organization to the ultimate control by the House of Commons. And a change is also needed in the spirit of the administration : Trust in the people must be substituted for trust in bureaucracy. Public servants must be the servants of the public ; not its masters.

### *Control in England.*

But there will be no security for popular rights unless provision is made for an impartial and effective control in England over the Indian Executive. Mr. Fox's Bill, a hundred and thirty years ago, proposed to effect this by placing the control in the hands of a strong and independent commission appointed by Parliament from among the most trusted public men in England, men unconnected with the Indian administration, and prepared to enforce publicly and with judicial impartiality the broad principles of justice and good government. This was the scheme so eloquently supported by Edmund Burke, who "desired to regulate the administration of India upon the principles of a Court of Judicature, and to exclude, as far as human prudence

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can exclude, all possibility of a corrupt partiality, in appointing to office, or covering from enquiry and punishment, any person who has abused, or shall abuse his authority." As a move in this direction some practical reforms might now be adopted, as recommended in the Minority Report of Lord Welby's Commission. As regards the responsible advisers of the Secretary of State, it was proposed (para. 34) that "a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience should be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils." Perhaps, as a beginning, representative Indians, selected in this way, might constitute not less than one-third of the Council ; another third being officials ; and the remaining third being selected from "the most trusted public men in England," unconnected with the Indian administration.

As regards control by Parliament, the recommendation of the Minority Report ran as follows : "In the time of the East India Company a Parliamentary enquiry was held every twenty years, before the renewal of the Charter. From these enquiries date the most important reforms for the benefit of India. Also the prospect of such an enquiry tended to check abuses. This old practice should be revived by statute." Further, "in order to maintain the controlling authority over Indian expenditure, the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed upon the British estimates." And in order to give reality to the "Indian Budget debate," the House of Commons should each year appoint a Select Committee to enquire into and report upon the financial conditions of India, as shown in the Budget, and in the discussions thereon in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. Lord Morley has told us that we should realize "the enormous weight, com-

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plexity, delicacy, and hazards" of our obligations towards India. The measures above suggested would do something towards giving Parliament the knowledge and opportunity needed to fulfil its duties as trustee for the Indian people.

### CONCLUSION.

It was, I think, Thomas Carlyle who said that old age was "dark and unlovely." But this was not so with Mr. Hume. Even under physical suffering, there were for him elements of brightness and beauty. For his mind to him a kingdom was : up to the last he was actively engaged in the scientific pursuits which were always his special joy; and his eyes were privileged to see, though in the dim distance, the salvation of India. To use his own expression, he had a "great and enduring Hope" for the future of India ; and he said that if he could only live to see that Hope realized, he would "die content and happy." His labours are now bearing rich fruit, and it has been a consolation to his sorrowing friends that, before he passed away, he had the assurance that a happier day was dawning for the people that he loved so well.

On the 31st of July 1912, in his eighty-fourth year, Allan Octavian Hume passed peacefully away. His funeral at Brookwood Cemetery was simple ; and the words on his monument were few. But far away, among the millions of India, there was deep sorrow. In telegrams, in letters, and in Resolutions at public meetings, the feelings of the people throughout the land were expressed in touching language. Some of these are given in Appendix IV. No one could have had mourners more multitudinous, or more sincere. For his name and his good deeds were known in the remotest villages of

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India; and everywhere the people came together to lament the loss of a friend, who had laboured for them, who had suffered for them, and who had shown them the way of national salvation. (The *Leader* of Allahabad, in its issue of 31st August last, published a most interesting note of reminiscences (reproduced Appendix V) by Mr. Zorawar Singh Nigam, a Municipal Commissioner of Etawah, in which he revives memories showing "what Mr. Hume's name means in the city and district." Though half a century has elapsed the people have not forgotten his good works, and on the news of his death the shops in the Etawah Bazar were closed as a mark of respect. At the Hume Memorial Meeting the Collector, Mr. H. R. Neville, presided, and spoke feelingly of the progress and prosperity of the district under his administration.

When we look back upon Mr. Hume's career, and his noble scheme for the harmonious evolution of East and West, we are reminded of the culture hero of Greece—Prometheus, the spirit of progress, "he who thinks forwards"; withstood in all ages, and among all races, by Epimetheus, "he who thinks backwards," the prototype of blind authority, which learns nothing, and forgets nothing. Prometheus brought the sacred fire from heaven, to endow men of clay with spiritual life; and taught them the arts and sciences, bringing upon himself the vengeance of the ruling powers: he suffered for the people, but triumphed in the end, when Hercules slew the vultures that preyed upon his vitals, and unloosed his bonds. In every nation the same struggle goes on between progress and autocracy, between enlightenment and obscurantism; and it is well for India that her destiny is linked with England; and not with Russia, where the spirit of the people is crushed by a dull and deadly bureaucratic despotism. In England, the ancient home



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of freedom, those who trust in Russian methods can only prevail for a season; and for India's future we may well share in Allan Hume's assured Hope that though sorrow may endure for a night, joy will come in the morning.

## APPENDIXES

### APPENDIX I

ETAWAH, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1860.

To G. R. HAYWOOD Esq.

*Secretary to the Cotton Supply Association,  
Manchester.*

DEAR SIR,—

Your letter and circular, dated December 1859 only reached me on the 17<sup>th</sup> of the current month—with whom the delay rests I cannot say—I at least am not in fault.

Fully concurring with you in the importance of increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the cotton grown in these provinces, I have for years given the subject as much attention as I could spare from my other multifarious duties, and am therefore in a position to answer most of the Queries put by you.

At the same time, lest, seeing how unsatisfactory many of my replies necessarily are, you should be disposed to wonder or cavil at my not having taken more energetic measures, to further the objects that I with you admit to be most desirable, allow me to remind you, that to an officer, to whom the entire government of six or seven hundred thousand people is confided, an improved or enhanced growth of cotton, can at most be but a very secondary object, to which time and attention can only be devoted, after weightier matters, such as the securing protection to life and property, the establishment and maintenance of schools, hospitals, and public libraries, the realization of Revenue, the construction of Public Works, etc., etc., have been duly provided for.

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And now to reply to your queries seriatim—

1. The cotton plant is grown in this, the Etawah District.
2. There is only one kind of cotton now grown in this district, I enclose samples, in the boll and cleaned. The former may be taken as a fair specimen of the best average cotton here grown—the latter will enable you to judge how far the Churkha here in use injures the fibre. The quality of the produce depends very much on the soil and season and fully half of the Etawah cotton is (taking the average of several years) inferior to the enclosed sample—on the other hand about 10 per cent. is superior.
3. No cotton of the American variety is grown here, nor would there appear to have ever been any vigorous efforts on a large scale to introduce its cultivation. Some few of the Zemindars seem to have tried a few acres of it some twenty-five years ago, but it took they allege so long to flower that the bolls never rightly came to maturity. I myself have sown it for three successive years without any success. I have so little time for gardening that I fear the cotton (though I saw it planted myself on the most approved form of ridge, and subsequently moulded and hilled) did not get properly looked after. Perhaps however the seed was in fault—the people here usually call the American variety “Nurma Kupas” or soft cotton.
4. Last year we had 57,675 acres of land under (cotton) cultivation and the produce amounted to 107,929 maunds or 8,634,320 lb., showing an average yield of only 150 lb. per acre; but the rains were very defective, and I think I shall not be wrong in assuming 250 lb. as the average yield per acre, in a fair season, of our average good land when reasonably carefully cultivated.
5. See No. 3.
6. Our soil varies in different parts of the district from very light sandy earth (“Bhoor” as it is here called) to a rich but still not clayey loam (known as “Do mut”). The climate is that of the rest of the districts of the central Duab—but perhaps a little warmer than some of its neighbours in January and February, cold at night and in mornings

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and evenings the temperature is often below freezing-point—in the middle of the day it ranges from  $80^{\circ}$  to  $94^{\circ}$  in the sun ; towards the end of February the heat increases and in March and the first fifteen days of April the temperature gradually rises, so that by the end of March the thermometer may be said never to fall below  $65^{\circ}$  and to rise to  $110^{\circ}$  at midday. During the latter part of April, May, and June till the first showers of the rain fall the heat is very great and the hot winds blow more or less continually. The thermometer very rarely, even just before sunrise falling below  $80^{\circ}$  and at 2 p.m. rising to  $120^{\circ}$  *in the shade* (we had it above that in our tents in 1858) and to  $140^{\circ}$  and even more incredible heights if exposed to the sun—however, towards the middle or end of May we sometimes have a little heavy rain which for a time cools the air. During June or early in July the periodical rains commence and continue with more or less violence till the end of August or the middle of September. The temperature during these months (dependent chiefly on the amount of rain that falls and the manner in which the falls are distributed) varies so much in different years and at different parts of the same season that it is difficult to give it any numerical representative, but perhaps if I assume  $86^{\circ}$  as the lowest and  $112^{\circ}$  as the highest average temperature in the shade during the rains, I shall not be far wrong. After the rain ceases there is usually a month of very hot and steamy weather, but during the course of October, the nights begin to grow cool, and the latter half of November and December are almost as cool as January. There is usually a fall of rain about the end of December which lasts a few days. The total fall of rain during the whole year is I estimate on the average 28 inches, of which 22 fall during the Rainy Season.

7. The cotton seed is usually sown during June after the first or second good fall of rain, but it is also at times (especially if the rains are late) sown in dry ground and there left to await the expected showers.

In years in which the rains are favourable, viz., in which the total fall is pretty equably distributed throughout the

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three months from 15 June to 15 September, no irrigation is required or resorted to. But when there is a failure of rain during the early part of the season the people irrigate wherever they can ; but if the rain still holds off irrigation is generally abandoned as too expensive and of little use. The out-turn is best when the rains cease a little before the plant flowers, which is on the average 75 days from the date of sowing in wet earth, or of the first good shower if sown in dry. The produce is scarce and of an inferior quality when rain falls on the flower, and still more so when it falls on the pod. We reckon a lightish loam best suited to cotton, and find that manuring it adds much more to the produce than it would in the case of wheat or barley—hence what little manure the people take the trouble to collect and cart is usually devoted to cotton lands. Irrigation is available in about one fourth of the district from the Ganges Canal (or will soon be when all the minor irrigation channels are complete) and in about another fourth from wells, tanks, rivers, etc. The people as a rule believe that irrigation neither improves the quality nor increases the quantity of the produce.

8. Clean cotton is on the average one-third of the total picking, that would give for last year only an average of 50 lb. per acre and in good years 80 lb. In this district three times the land now under cultivation could be easily devoted to the growth of cotton.

9. Nothing would be easier than to extend the cultivation, if set about in a proper way. What we chiefly require are money advances, increased intelligence and a ready and good sale on the spot (see further No. 12).

10. The only obstacles are want of capital and intelligence and the extreme uncertainty of the demand (see further No. 12).

11. Of the produce of this district we estimate that not more than one-third is consumed by the natives of the district itself, but that of the remainder not more than 2,000,000 lb. is exported to England, the rest being absorbed in Bengal.

12. There are no European merchants in this or any of

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the surrounding districts who purchase or as far as I can judge would purchase cotton. Nor are there any native merchants who purchase cotton on a large scale. Radhe Lall, Bhugwan Dass and Umrao Singh are the chief native cotton purchasers of Etawah, but they together scarcely purchase £10,000 worth per annum. Some twenty-five years ago Messrs. Wright and I think Ritchie at Agra, and Mr. Bruce at Calpee did a good deal of business in this line, here and in the neighbouring districts—and Mr. Bruce was a cotton planter as well as purchaser. All seemed to have failed. This was long before I came to this part of the country, and I cannot therefore offer any opinion of my own as to the causes of their want of success, but if any reliance may be placed in native accounts, their failure was due to causes independent of the trade in which they were engaged. Mr. H. H. Bell of Oomergarh, in the Muttra district, also I *believe* some fourteen years ago, tried (at the request of the late J. Thomason Esq., Lt.-Governor) the experiment of growing American cotton and purchasing the native variety, but he too would seem to have found the business unprofitable. You ask what agency should be employed to purchase cotton and send it home to England. I would suggest that the Association send out to Etawah some member of one of the large Manchester firms whose name would be a sufficient guarantee for the character of his transactions. That this gentleman should establish here a regular agency for the purchase and factory for the cleaning and pressing of cotton. This should be bought raw and cleaned under his own supervision—a good steam Pratt gin, for instance, would increase the value of the cotton 15 per cent. and save 5 per cent. in labour, while if fuel became ultimately any difficulty, as it possibly might, cattle, horse or mule power might be used as in the States. The cotton so bought and cleaned should be pressed, packed, and sent off from here to England (in boats to Calcutta by the Jumna). The cotton agent might at the same time gradually introduce better kinds of cotton, keeping up a small model farm both with the view of ascertaining which varieties are best for

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this part of the country, and which is the most advantageous mode of growing them, and also for the purpose of keeping up a supply of acclimatized seed for distribution and giving the growers practical lessons of how to improve their husbandry. Moreover as the produce increased the agent could gradually introduce good hand gins, and get a great deal of the cotton well cleaned by the people themselves. Besides the produce of Etawah itself, a factory at Etawah would command the whole produce of the very extensive cotton field of which it is the centre and which includes a great portion of Dholpoor, Agra, Muttra, Mynpooree, Furruckabad, Cawnpoor, Jalown, and the North of Gwalior. I don't hesitate to say that with two or three years of liberal, just, and ready-money transactions 25,000,000 lbs. of *clean* cotton could be easily sent home annually from here, and if a system of advances to intending cultivators was adopted, I should not despair of multiplying the amount many times. The business would require capital, temper, time, intelligence, and liberality, and what is not common in India, regular *business* habits—but it would, I believe, be very profitable, and a few such agencies in India judiciously located would I believe enable our merchants in Manchester to command an almost indefinite supply of cotton of *any* quality that the physical conditions of soil and climate permit the growth of. What the highest quality here obtainable really is time and repeated experiments on a considerable scale, by men who know exactly what to try and how to try it, alone can show, but that the present standard can be very considerably raised even without the introduction of new varieties, I have myself twice practically proved. Even supposing that no cotton better than the sample sent were to be usually grown here, the scheme I propose would I conclude be remunerative. At present, the *grower* sells it to a petty dealer, after having "mangled" it with an infamous "churkha" that very seriously injures the fibre, the petty dealer sells it to a native merchant, who packs it (without any press, and so badly that it has to be repacked down country), and exports it sometimes direct

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to Calcutta, but more often only Mirzapoor; and then it passes through one or two more hands before it is finally shipped for England. Surely the direct agency properly managed, by which the cotton is cleaned without injury to the fibre, packed at once and exported without there being any middleman to absorb the profits, would be amply remunerative when the present ill-managed system affords profits sufficient to support five or six different parties.

Cotton of the quality of the raw sample herewith sent might I calculate on the average, if bought in large quantities, cleaned by good gins, properly packed and sent down the Jumna in boats, be put on board ship at Calcutta at Rs. 10 8 ans. per maund, or at £1 1s. per 80 lb. avoirdupois, or 3 15 per lb. (exclusive of cost of agency and risk of insurance). The question is what will the freight home cost, and what would the average value of cotton of the quality of the raw sample herewith sent be in Manchester if it had been properly cleaned by a good gin?

I must however note that the price of cotton here is liable to most extraordinary fluctuations; at the present moment if I had to buy cotton, clean it, etc., it would cost (even supposing I had all the means and appliances above suggested) at least 4½ per lb. before it got on ship board at Calcutta. This I take to be owing in great measure to the extreme uncertainty of the demand. Were there a regular agency for its purchase here, I do not think the price would vary as much as it now does or average higher than that above quoted.

13. The actual price of the cotton cleaned at Etawah is usually under the present retail system about Rs. 7 12 ans., or 15s. 6d. (it is much more at the present moment) per maund of 80 lb., but if bought and cleaned by horse or steam gins, on a *large scale*, would, besides being much better, stand in some 8 ans. or 1s. less. It costs now 8 ans. or 1s. to pack one maund of it very badly—with a good screw press it could be packed so as not to require reopening till it reached England for 4 ans. or 6d., and it is carried from here to Calcutta in boats via the



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Jumna to Allahabad, and thence by the Ganges and Hooglee for Rs. 3 or 6s. per maund, whereas, if properly packed, it would certainly cost 8 ans. per maund less in transit. We have therefore—

	At present.			As suggested.		
	Indian.		English.	Indian.		English.
	Rs. as.	£	s. d.	Rs. as.	£	s. d.
Cost of cotton of quality of sample cleaned at Etawah, per maund of 80 lb....	7 14	0	15 9	7 6	0	14 9
Packing ditto ...	0 8	0	1 0	0 4	0	0 6
Carriage to Calcutta ...	3 0	0	0 0	2 8	0	5 0
Cost at Calcutta of maund or 80 lb.	11 0	1	2 9	10 2	1	0 3

I would add that though, allowing for contingencies, I have in answer No. 12 stated the price per maund of 80 lb. at Rs. 10 8 ans. or £1 1s., I should myself be sanguine of reducing this average if the business were conducted on a sufficiently large and liberal scale.

14. Etawah is admirably situated as a locality for a cotton agency—it is built, as the map will show you, on the banks of the Jumna, thus ensuring cheap and uninterrupted water carriage to Calcutta. It has moreover a good road from Gwalior on the one hand (crossing the Jumna and Chambal, over both of which I have established bridges of boats) and to Furrickabad on the Ganges on the other; the main rail-road from Allahabad and Calcutta to Agra, Delhi and the Punjaub passes through it, and though two years will probably elapse before that portion of the line lying between Raj Mehal and Allahabad is entirely complete the section from Allahabad to Agra will it is believed be open to the public in less than a twelvemonth. Besides this I have during the last three years constructed some 400 miles of good cart roads leading from all parts of the district to the town of Etawah itself, so that really the only way in which

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down till the bale is full—such bags usually contain 3 maunds 5 seers, or 250 lb. of cotton each. There is a smaller kind also in use here which weighs when full only about 150 lb.

17. The cost of cleaning cotton by the "Churkha" is 3 or  $3\frac{1}{10}$ th of a penny—a man who receives 2 ans. or 3d. per diem cleans 5 seers or 10 lb. in a day. The seed usually sells for about 10 per cent. more than the cost of cleaning.

18. Samples of the cotton here grown both in the raw state and cleaned are put up.

19. I have no seed that I can depend on. This year I have got a little from the Calcutta Agri-horticultural Society, which if it succeeds will enable me to distribute a little seed next year, but if the Association choose to furnish me with a considerable quantity of first-rate seed, I will undertake to get it tried in many places of the district and if it succeeds to have the seed so raised distributed on a large scale; but it must be distinctly understood that such seed must reach me free of cost and that I cannot myself go to any expense in cultivating it as I have already too many schools, libraries, and other district institutions *entirely* dependent on me, to undertake any new scheme at present.

20. Samples of the cotton fabrics of this district (with the prices in English and Indian money and other particulars on labels attached to them) are herewith forwarded.

21. In this district there is but little waste land and this latter is (with the exception of a few hundred acres, scattered about in tiny patches) altogether barren and unculturable.

22. I have unfortunately no time at present to discuss the gigantic question of "how the general trade and commerce of the district may be most effectually extended," and in regard to the one particular branch of commerce in which the Association must be chiefly interested I have, I think, already nearly sufficiently taxed your patience. Let me however be again reminding you of the extreme difference both of climate and soil between these provinces and not only the Valley of the Mississippi but also the Southern and Central portions of India itself. New Orleans cotton whether culti-

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vated according to American or Indian practice has hitherto succeeded but indifferently in these provinces, but who knows what success some combination of the two or some entirely new system of culture might lead to? On the other hand supposing it to be proved impossible to bring the American variety to perfection here, it is by no means improbable that the African or still better the Egyptian might succeed. What is required is experience—an experimental farm carried on on a liberal scale under a really able and educated man for half a dozen years, would probably settle the matter as regards the cotton field of which Etawah is the natural centre. If the Association really wish for this experience, really desire to improve the quality and increase the quantity of cotton grown here and elsewhere—they must put their own shoulders to the wheel—give up memorializing Government, and do what they want done themselves—at their own expense. In the long run they will find it the cheapest and best plan.

I need hardly say that any agency of the nature suggested by me in my twelfth answer, would meet with my most willing support, and that I should be at all times ready to afford any advice or assistance that my long residence in this district and intimate acquaintance with its people rendered me qualified to give.

I am, dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

A. O. HUME.

PS.—The Macarthy gins would be readily purchased here, if the people could be convinced that they answer. If one as a specimen were sent with full instructions as to use, and I could show them practically that it was a *paying* investment, there would be no difficulty I fancy in disposing of five hundred like it in a single year.

*Note.*—As ill-health compels me to go on leave for a few months any reply you may wish to send should be addressed to me *by name to the care of* the Magistrate and Collector, Etawah.

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moment to be, the most serious obstacle to real National progress.

I do not ignore the fact that in our practical work we may and often must, adopt the moral of the fagot fable and proceed to break the sticks one by one, but we must all from the outset, realize the entire fagot and set before us as our ultimate aim and end, not the fracture of the one stick but the destruction of the entire bundle.

But to me it seems that you put forward these two unquestionably desirable reforms as if they were the most momentous questions of the day, and as if on them hinged the national regeneration, whereas they are mere fractional parts which can never be successfully manipulated by themselves, and which even if they could be so treated, would not, independently of progress in other directions, produce any very marked results upon the country as a whole.

The tendency of your Notes must be, I fear, to give all your readers a somewhat exaggerated and disproportioned idea of the importance of these matters, themselves only branches of the larger question of raising the status of our women generally, itself again only one of many essential factors in National progress.

Moreover, pressing these isolated points so strongly, as if they were obligatory and stood by themselves, and not as mere optional sections of a general enterprise, has certainly temporarily alienated some who would cordially have co-operated in many other sections. Now we cannot afford to alienate a single possible coadjutor, and it is only by starting on a platform co-extensive with the aspirations of the country that we can hope to secure the co-operation of even the majority of that powerful (though numerically small) body of earnest workers who have learnt to look in one direction or another, outside the sordid veil of "self" that still darkens the perceptions of their brethren.

The earnest and unselfish labourers for Progress in this country constitute but an infinitesimal fraction of the population, a fraction that becomes absolutely inappreciable if further subdivided. If, then, any real results are to be

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achieved, it can only be by linking together all those who love the light and would fain push the darkness farther back, in a common effort against a common evil.

Doubtless, division of labour is the seed of Progress, and throughout the universe specialization goes hand in hand with development. We may expect different minds to devote themselves more especially to different sections of the work, but they must be taken up as integral parts of the whole, subordinate portions of the common enterprise in which all are interested.

As it is, in consequence of the all-pervading spirit of division of labour, the minds of our reformers are, as a rule, too exclusively turned to individual abuses and too little in sympathy with the aspirations of fellow-workers struggling against other forms of wrong ; and our first aim should be to infuse a spirit of catholicity into the entire body of those willing to labour, in *any* direction, for the common weal.

It is essential, I think, that we should all try to realize that closely interwoven in humanity as are the physical, intellectual and psychical factors, progress in any direction, to be real or permanent, postulates a corresponding progress in other directions—that though we may and must most specially devote our energies to overcoming the particular adversary that circumstances have most immediately opposed to us, we each form but one unit in a force contending against a common foe, whose defeat will depend as much on the success of each of our fellow-soldiers as on our own. In the hour of battle it signifies nothing whether a man is in the light or grenadier company, the whole regiment must advance—the individual can do little ; it matters not whether one is in the cavalry, artillery, infantry, pioneers or what not, the success of each is the success of all, the defeat of any an additional obstacle to the triumph of the rest.

At present the greatest impediment to all progress here appears to me to consist in a general failure to realize the essential unity of the cause of reform. You find earnest

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I desire to press forward along all the lines, but I am averse to spasmodic onslaughts in isolated directions and I believe that for our entire work, and *à fortiori* for each fragmentary portion thereof, *festina lente* is the true motto.

Having alluded to female education, pardon me if before closing I say a few words on a subject too generally overlooked, viz., the intimate connection that exists between the elevation of the status of our women, and that political enfranchisement for which alone so many of our ablest co-workers think it worth while to labour ; it will illustrate my previous contention as to the essential one-ness of the cause of national reform. I will not argue with my Native friends, who twit me with Divorce Courts and Hill-station scandals, whether our modern so-called education does render European women as a whole less liable to fall. I will not argue with them as to whether, taking households by the million, there is more chastity in the East or the West. Thank God, I have known of thousands of pure households in both—and everywhere so long as this race of man exists, there will be weak women whom *no* education can touch, and wicked men, and whether there be more of these in this or that nation no mortal man is really qualified to judge ; and this moreover is wholly beyond the present question, since *all* will admit that a *properly* educated woman, whose mental and moral faculties have been thoroughly developed, must necessarily be less liable to err than one who remains uneducated. I by no means set up the average education of European girls as all that could be desired—all I ask for is a really good education for all Indian girls, and if the European system is defective let us improve upon it and adopt a more perfect one.

But what I do desire to make plain is that without the proper education of our females, without their elevation to their natural and rightful position, no great and permanent political progress can be hoped for. It is by such education alone that the national intellect can be completed and the East put in a position to compete fairly with the West.

As in the individual **there** are two brains whose har-

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monious co-operation is essential to the best mental work, so in the nation are there two intellects, the male and the female, whose equipoised interaction is indispensable to the evolution of a wise national conduct.

The male intellect, however cultivated, still remains imperfect until supplemented by that of the educated woman. Mill's essay on Liberty—his grandest work—owes its perfection, I firmly believe, as asserted by its author, to his long discussions of the subject with a highly educated lady. A nation whose women are uneducated, let its men have all possible culture, still goes into the world's battle with only one arm.

The superiority of Western over Eastern nations (and in many matters this is beyond dispute) is mainly due to the fact that in the former both the female and the male mind are brought to bear upon all great public questions. Ladies, it is true, do not as yet sit in the House of Commons, but there is not a vote taken in that House on any important national question which has not been fully as much influenced by the female as by the male minds of the educated classes.

In a despotically governed country where the Sovereign associates with himself one or more highly intellectual, if perhaps only self-educated women, the evil of the general mental degradation of the females of the country may not so distinctly and directly react on the public policy ; but where by the spread of liberal institutions the popular voice becomes, as it is even here becoming day by day, a more and more powerful factor in the direction of public affairs the community which retains its women uneducated and deliberately deprives itself of their intellectual co-operation, can never hope to compete successfully with others in which public policy is the joint product of the cultivated male and female mind.

Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element in the nation proceeds *pari passu* with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove

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vain ; and in so far as the two customs against which you righteously inveigh tend *inter alia* to depress that element, all are bound to sympathize with and support you in your proposed reforms : not overrating their importance, not pressing them too furiously before their time is ripe, but accepting them as two, amongst several, reforms by which our women must be raised to their rightful status, before India, whether still affiliated to England or not, can become either truly prosperous or truly free.

In conclusion I must apologize for the length of this rambling letter and even more so for presuming thus to differ in some degree from one so much better entitled to speak with authority than myself. But you insisted on having my thoughts on the subject, and right or wrong, in all their natural ruggedness, you have them now.

Yours sincerely,

A. O. HUME.



## APPENDIX III

### LORD DUFFERIN'S RESOLUTION ON HINDU REFORMS

*A Letter from Mr. Hume to Mr. M. B. Malabari*

You ask me what I think of the Government Resolution.

I think it a capital one—all you could possibly desire in the present position of the question and more than you could, I think, have expected.

The entire question has been thoroughly thrashed out all over the whole Empire. All that *can* be said upon the question has now been put on record, either in the papers collected by the Government of India from all the several Provinces, which they are now about to publish, or in the many letters which you have elicited from all sorts and conditions of men, which *you* doubtless will also soon publish. There will no longer be, for any one who will study the exhaustive all-sided discussion of the case embodied in these two "collections," any possibility of doubt as to the *facts*. Action will be no longer fettered by the fear that there may lurk unknown difficulties.

The whole thing has been made clear—exaggerations of both sides brought thus face to face will neutralize each other, and the sober facts of the case will stand out clear and simple.

That two of the most complicated and controverted problems of social reform, which for at least a quarter of a century have engaged in a desultory fashion the minds of the public, should thus in three short years have been

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cleared of all misconceptions and misrepresentation and reduced to their simplest elements, is a great work and one for which the country will, hereafter, I feel sure, be adequately grateful to you.

One thing is now certain—all the best and wisest men in this Empire, without distinction of race, creed or colour, are at one with you as regards the absolute necessity of the great Social Reforms which you advocate.

It is only as to your methods that differences of opinion and, I think, some, misconceptions exist.

You are believed generally to advocate coercive legislation which neither I myself nor, I believe, the majority of Indians are at all prepared to accept. But if I now rightly understand you, all you really look forward to is legislation of an enabling and permissive character. Now even for this the time does not seem to me to be altogether ripe, but I see no reason why, if the agitation be properly kept up and a conviction of the disadvantages of the existing system be steadily forced home to a larger and larger number of minds, something of the kind might not properly be conceded in a few years.

This is how I view the question : If A chooses to marry a widow, or to keep his sons unmarried to eighteen or twenty and his daughters unmarried till they are thirteen, or even fifteen, or seventeen, B, C and D must always be left at liberty to cut A in their individual and private capacities : but this is a different thing from B, C, and D combining as a *Punchayet*, not merely to cut A, but to threaten E and F, who sympathize with A that if they do not straightway cut their friend A they will put them also out of caste.

That A's right of private judgment in such matters and *à fortiori* E's and F's should be protected by "enabling" legislation, appears to me to be by no means too much to hope for. I myself see no reason why when public opinion ripens on the subjects, the legislature should not prohibit *Punchayets* from putting persons out of caste on these grounds, while leaving it free to every individual member of any community to cut or drop any or every other member

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thereof in his private capacity, as may seem good to him. In my opinion, this is the legislation you should aim at, and the only legislation that could ever be necessary or justifiable. But even this legislation you cannot expect from a Government entirely composed of foreigners. Were I Viceroy at this moment with virtually only European colleagues, I should reply to you just as Lord Dufferin has done, viz., that Government is not in a position to legislate on such subjects. But as soon as we have a strong independent representative element in all our Councils, the situation will be altogether changed, and whenever and wherever a considerable majority of Indian Representatives press for permissive legislation of the character above indicated, then and there, be sure that Government will cease to oppose it. And I confess that until we have such representatives and until these support and press for such a measure, I see little prospect of your obtaining any legislative sanction for the efforts of the Social Reform Party. Now it is to secure this representation that the National or Political Reform Party are straining every nerve, and you and your party, if they are wise, will second their efforts with the heartiest good will. Together we must all rise or together be plunged in the existing Slough of Despond.

It is grievous to find honest patriots working in other lines, because they dissent from some of your methods instead of merely controverting these, descending to attribute to you unworthy motives and to attack *you* personally, than whom (whatever errors you may possibly have fallen into) a more earnest or honest lover of India and her people does not, I believe (and I speak after many years' knowledge of you) exist.

I know that some who attack you thus do not really mean all they say, but merely hope (and a very vain hope it is) to keep you quiet. They say, "Confound the fellow, why can't he keep quiet: what we want first and foremost is political enfranchisement, the fuss he keeps making about his widows, etc., tends to sow dissensions in our camp, and to direct the public mind from the more important work we have in hand,

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THE news of the death of Mr. Hume called forth a remarkable expression of grief from Indians in all parts of the Empire. At a public meeting held in Westminster the Hon. Mr. Gokhale referred to Mr. Hume as "one of those men who appeared from time to time in this world, under the dispensation of a wise Providence, to help forward the onward march of humanity, whose voice sounded like a trumpet-call, waking up whole peoples from the slumber of ages, and whose title to an honoured place in the history of nations no man could possibly challenge. Mr. Hume loved India passionately, as every one who knew him could testify, and he loved justice and freedom also passionately. Thus it was that, after the close of a distinguished official career, he came forward to devote his great gifts to guiding India along the path of justice and freedom and self-respect. He came forward to teach Indians to walk nobly along the path of nationhood."

Mr. D. E. Wacha, Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, wrote in the *Indian Review* that in Mr. Hume "Indians instinctively recognized a commanding personality. To those who had come into close contact and intimacy with him it was manifest that he was an Agamemnon and Nestor rolled into one—such were his force of character, his sagacity and his determined will. His was a unique advocacy inspired by the noblest and most righteous thoughts. He alone knew how to charm, how to strengthen, and how to teach. He is gone, but not without teaching us that though we have no wings to soar, we have feet to scale

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and climb, more and more by slow degrees the cloudy summits of our times."

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, in the course of a speech made at Calcutta, said that "Mr. Hume worked in sickness and in health for the political advancement of the people of India with a self-sacrificing zeal and a single-mindedness of purpose which will enshrine his memory in the affections of the people, and will entitle him to the deepest gratitude of the most distant generations of Indians. His name will stand forth in the golden records of Indian history as one of the great builders of Indian national life and one of the truest promoters of Indian national union. . . . In the muster roll of distinguished Englishmen who had laid broad the foundation of the British rule in India and had enthroned themselves in the hearts of the people, Allan Hume would occupy a prominent position. Mr. Hume, in the golden record of Indian history, stood as a successor and lineal descendant of the Metcalfes and Bentincks, and the great band of missionary philanthropists who had sown the seeds of their educational progress, seeds which to-day under the beautiful laws of evolution were bearing such splendid fruits."

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, speaking at the same meeting, expressed his confidence that "when the voice of blind passion and vulgar strife is hushed, the name of Allan Hume will find a conspicuous place in the roll of those good servants of England who are imperial in the true sense of the term ; for the true imperialist is not the man who shouts the loudest about the imperial destiny of England, but the man who is conscious of the great trust which has been laid on England and which a great and righteous nation alone can discharge. . . . Hume's tomb is the whole of India and his most lasting memorial will be found not in marble or bronze, but in the hearts of those for whom he lived and died."

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, speaking at Allahabad, said that "Mr. Hume inspired, elevated and educated those who came under his influence by the nobleness of his nature, his world-wide sympathies, his profound

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and ancient land for the venerable departed can be given no adequate expression. An Englishman and a member of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Hume, with a freedom from prejudice rare as it was glorious, founded the Indian National Congress, an organization of which no Indian can be too proud. If a new life is visible in India to-day, if the Indians have a national self-consciousness which was non-existent before the year of the first Congress, if their national self-respect is higher, if the esteem in which they are held by the civilized world is greater than it was, if with determination and self-confidence they look forward to the day when their country will have responsible government such as is enjoyed by the self-governing dominions of the Empire ; the credit for all this is to no small extent due to the Congress that was founded by Mr. Hume and therefore to Mr. Hume himself. The names of Allan Hume and William Wedderburn will be inseparably associated for ever in the Indian mind as the two worshippable men who laid aside every consideration of self and of race in order to strive nobly and work actively for the regeneration of an ancient land now low in the confederacy of nations but with a rich promise of coming into her own by dint of unselfish exertion persisted in notwithstanding failure, in the simple faith in God that no good cause can fail."

The *Lahore Tribune* said Mr. Hume "corresponded with all public men in India and spent money freely in promoting the cause of the Indian National Congress. He wrote leading articles for newspapers, corresponded with the highest officials, carried on controversies, wrote pamphlets, and was tireless in his industry. He was by no means in robust health, but nothing deterred him for a moment from the work he had undertaken to do. If any man had a mission it was Mr. Hume. He had the fervour of a prophet and the enthusiasm of a fanatic held well under control by the practical insight of a statesman. And his selflessness was sublime. A man who might have become a Lieutenant-Governor was content to work silently for the people among whom he had lived so long. Now that he has been called to

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his rest we can only, in language all too feeble, express our undying gratitude for all that he did for us and our country with an earnestness of devotion and nobility of purpose which have scarcely any parallel."

The *Punjabee* said "his name was truly a household word, pronounced with love and veneration by the young and old. Though an official and a Mutiny veteran, he was known to the millions of Indians only as the originator of the sentiment of Indian nationality. . . . Fancy this ex-Secretary to the Government of India gathering up the scattered forces of Indians and promoting a national movement among them at a time when the echoes of the Ilbert Bill controversy had hardly died in the Himalayan fastness! He worked with a stout heart through all the discouraging and disconcerting circumstances. Never did he once quail before the huge mass of inertia that confronted him at every step."

The *Hindu*, of Madras, ranked Mr. Hume as the first of the noble band of Englishmen who after their retirement to England, keep a warm heart for India and Indians. "During the thirty-three years he came into contact with the Indian people he had conceived such a love for them that he could not bring himself to what most of his countrymen do by retiring to England and forgetting the country to which they owe so much. . . . And of all those who, by their untiring industry, winning persuasion, and steadfast work, brought the institution into being, successfully steered it through difficulties of every kind and watched its growth vigilantly and with anxiety, Mr. Hume's name will ever be remembered with the warmest affection and gratitude."

The *Indian Patriot* regarded Mr. Hume as a "father" of the Indian people, as well as the "father" of the Congress. "If the happiness of his life was ever disturbed it was mostly on account of his earnest solicitude for India and Indians. We owe to him our love and gratitude in a measure that few other men can claim, and it behoves us to demonstrate both in the most fitting manner possible. We must erect monuments of our love and gratitude to the great man, not only in one place, but in as many places as

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towns, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Benares, Nagpur, Bankipore, Poona, Amraoti, Yeotmal, Lucknow, Rai Bareilly, Mainpuri, Meerut, Etawah, Gorakhpur, Cuddapah, Bezwada, Berhampore, Nandyal, Trichinopoly, Bapatla, and many other places. The resolutions adopted were similar in form and character, as may be judged from the telegram forwarded to Sir W. Wedderburn by the Secretaries of the Indian National Congress, which reads as follows :—

“Indians deeply mourn the death of Allan Hume. In him the country has lost its most sincere and sympathetic friend, the like of whom it may never see again, and the Congress its most beloved and esteemed founder. With unexampled energy, great perseverance and unfaltering faith he had striven amidst good report and evil to promote the social and political welfare of the people and had lived to see the firstfruits of his noble and unceasing efforts. Though it is impossible that Indians can ever repay the debt of obligation they owe to him for his righteous and disinterested service, the name of Mr. Hume will be remembered with affection and gratitude by generations to come as that of a sterling Englishman of deep and abiding sympathy with their most cherished aspirations.”

The twenty-seventh Session of the Indian National Congress, held at Bankipore on December 26, 27, and 28, 1912, adopted a resolution recording “its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., father and founder of the Congress, to whose lifelong services, rendered at rare self-sacrifice, India feels deep and lasting gratitude, and in whose death the cause of Indian progress and reform sustained irreparable loss.”



## APPENDIX V

### ETAWAH'S DEBT TO MR. HUME

*(From the "Leader," of Allahabad, August 31, 1912)*

Few people unconnected with Etawah can understand what Mr. Hume's name means in this city and district.

A brief narration of facts pertaining to his administration of the district will be an interesting reading and remind many of the name and glory he had already won as an able and sympathetic administrator long, long before he figured as a political leader.

The history of Etawah is inseparably associated with his name, and his memory will ever be cherished in the grateful hearts of its residents. He was a young man hardly twenty-six when he was put in charge of the responsible and onerous duties of the collector and magistrate of the district. A born administrator, endowed with a clear foresight, strong personality, determined will, undaunted courage, God-fearing, and indefatigable, he soon made his influence felt throughout the district and came to be respected and loved by the rich and poor alike. Peace, progress and reform followed his administration. There was "nothing but hopefulness and peace" in Etawah, when suddenly the Mutiny broke out. The condition of the district preceding the dark days of the Mutiny is thus very vividly described by Mr. Hume in his characteristic lucid and forcible style :—

"Never apparently had the prospects of the district been so cheering ; crime was, and had been for the previous two

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being goaded into rebellion, led to return to their peaceful pursuits and to submit to arbitration the adjustment of the costs of their transgression." The *Gazetteer* sums up Mr. Hume's career in the following telling words : " Few districts in the province can compare with Etawah for the loyalty of its inhabitants during the great rebellion. This was owing to the kindly feeling entertained towards Mr. Hume by the majority of the people and to the persevering efforts made by him to keep alive those feelings. . . . To Mr. Hume nearly all the credit is due. Etawah owes much to that distinguished officer, Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., for many years collector of the district. It was largely owing to his influence that the Mutiny disturbances left so slight a mark upon it, and his name still lingers gratefully in the memories of the people."

The Mutiny over, Mr. Hume devoted his untiring energy primarily towards the extension of education. Seven tahsil schools were opened. More than two hundred and fifty village schools were recognized and aid began to be given from the public funds. Hume High School, the chief school of the district, was raised by him to the status of a superior Zilla school. The structure of the school building is architecturally interesting. It consists of a fine hall supported in the centre by an enormous arch, and flanked on either side by two high and spacious rooms. Running round the entire building are long and roomy corridors. The original building before the extensions on the north and the south sides was in the form of an H. The entire cost of construction amounted to Rs. 34,000, out of which Rs. 24,000 were subscribed by Mr. Hume himself and the residents of the district. As long as he was collector of the district Mr. Hume paid a monthly subscription of Rs. 30 towards its support, but on leaving the district he presented it with a donation of Rs. 7200, invested in Government paper, calculated to yield from interest an amount equal to the monthly subscription he had paid till then. From the sum annually accruing four scholarships of Rs. 6 per mensem each are awarded to the four best boys of the

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middle section under fourteen years of age, for proficiency either in English or mathematics. In addition to this Mr. Hume made a separate endowment of Rs. 1200 for an annual prize to be given to the youngest boy who passed the entrance examination.

The first medical institution built in Etawah was built in 1856 by Mr. A. O. Hume.

Old Etawah lies among or at the head of the ravines, and the newer portions of the city stretch backwards to the north. Several *nalas* intersect the site of the town. Owing to the uneven nature of the ground, communication between the old and the new quarters was difficult before the time of Mr. Hume. But by means of cuttings, embankments and bridges he made fine broad metalled roads, and rendered communication at all times easy or practicable. He made so many good roads that even after forty-five years of his leaving Etawah, with all the municipal and district boards' arrangements, only very few roads have been constructed since.

In the centre of the city is Humeganj. Formerly the place was an unsightly and uneven piece of waste ground infested with wild beasts, but it was levelled and drained by Mr. Hume and it now forms the site of imposing public buildings and a handsome market-place also called the Humeganj, the principal grain and cotton market which is lined with handsome shops, remarkable for their fine brickwork arches. To the west of the grain market is Hume's Serai, which is entered by a handsome gateway resembling a triumphal arch. The imposing building of the Tehsili, the American Mission Church, which is now used as municipal office, the vegetable market, Hume High School, the Kotwali, the old Munsifi and the town school and the hospital, all stand upon the site and will ever remain a living monument of Mr. Hume and his work in Etawah. He also erected a *baradari* on the débris of Somersah's fortress and constructed a road leading to it, which is now out of order. The handsome residence of the collector and the small building used as a club were also built by him in

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the peculiar style of architecture which characterized all Mr. Hume's constructions. It was not only the city which received his attention, but the whole district bears testimony to his kind and loving regards and the real improvements effected by him. There is also a Humeganj in Phapund. Another Humeganj, consisting of a large, well-kept square, with a central metalled roadway and masonry shops, adorns Auriya.

I leave it to you and your readers to see for yourselves what claims Etawah has on the proposed Provincial Hume Memorial, and how far it would be in the fitness of things to perpetuate his memory at a place where he is already so much respected. The educative effect of such a memorial on the residents of Etawah and of the neighbouring districts would be immense. These places are admittedly still lingering behind in the onward march. They ought to receive due attention from those whose main study is to see that none lags behind. If the suggestion is favourably countenanced other details would be easily forthcoming.

ZORAWAR SINGH NIGAM

*(Municipal Commissioner, Etawah).*

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